National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXII. NO. 52. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1862. WHOLE NO. 1,144.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,
AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York,
AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

A SOUTHERN MAMMY.

From The N. Y. Express.

WE are requested to make room for the following picture between a white child and her dark skinned "Mammy":

"OH! mammy, have you heard the news?"
Thus spake a Southern child,
As in the nurse's aged face
She upward glanced and smiled.

"What news you mean, my little one?
It must be mighty fine,
To make my darling's face so red,
Her sunny blue eyes shine."

"Why, Abram Lincoln, don't you know,
The Yankee President,
Whose ugly picture once we saw,
When up to town we went.

"Well, he is going to free you all,
And make you rich and grand,
And you'll be dressed in silk and gold,
Like the proudest in the land.

"A gilded coach shall carry you
Where'er you wish to ride;
And, mammy, all your work shall be
Forever laid aside."

The eager speaker paused for breath.
And the old nurse said,
While closer to her swarthy cheek
She pressed the golden head:

"My little missus stop and res—
You' talking mighty fas,
Jest look up dere, and tell me what
You see in yonder glass?

"You sees old mammy's wrinkled face,
As black as any coal;
And underneath her handkerchief
Whole heaps of knotty wool.

"My darlin's face is red and white,
Her skin is soft and fine,
And on her pretty little head
De yaller ringlets shine.

"My chile, who made dis difference
Twixt mammy and twixt you?
You reads the dear Lord's blessed book,
And you can tell me true.

"De dear Lord said it must be so;
And, honey, I, for one,
Wid thankful heart will always say,
His holy will be done.

"I tanks mas Linkum all de same.
But when I wants for free,
I'll ask the Lord of glory,
Not poor buckra man like he.

"And as for gilded carriages,
Dey's nothin' 't all to see;
My massa's coach what carries him
Is good enough for me.

"And honey, when your mammy wants
To change her homespun dress,
She'll pray like dear old missus
To be clothed with righteousness.

"My work's been done dis many day,
And now I takes my ease,
A waitin' for de massa's call
Jes when de Master please.

"And when at las de time's done come,
And poor old mammy dies,
Your own dear mother's soft white hand
Shall close these tired old eyes.

"De dear Lord Jesus soon will call
Old mammy home to him,
And he can wash my guilty soul
From ebry spot of sin.

"And at his feet I shall lie down,
Who died and rose for me;
And den, and not till den, me chile,
Your mammy will be free.

"Come little missus say your prayers,
Let old mas Linkum 'lone,
The debil knows who b'longs to him,
And he'll take care of his own."

NEED OF CONSERVATIVE WORK.

From The Journal of Commerce.

TO-DAY, more than at any former time, it is manifest that the only loyal men in the country are those who are loyal to the Constitution. Seditious plans of revolution, suggestions of the temporary suspension of constitutional rights, proposals to overthrow the American system and substitute for it an approximation to monarchy, or the ideal of political demagogues, a democratic power unchecked by any other sovereignties—all these plans and propositions and suggestions are afloat, originating in the minds of men who are loyal to their own notions, but enemies to the Constitution of the Fathers and the Union which Washington, Franklin, and those other worthies founded.

One and another radical plot has been sprung on the people, met by the conservative men, and crushed back to darkness and confusion, but the workmen are indefatigable, and their new plans spring up at the most unexpected moments. One of the great failures of the true patriots in this country for years past has been the quiet and calm silence in which they have permitted radicalism to do its work. The men of sound politics and orthodox views of religion have seemed to believe in the old proverb, "Truth is great and will prevail," and have left truth to struggle to success unaided and unsupported. Radicalism, on the contrary, has been persistent, active, shrewd, and unfaltering in disseminating its doctrines. Its publications are in all parts of the country to which they can be carried. Its lecturers are in all the lyceums, at all the desks, on all the platforms. Its missionaries have penetrated into the strongholds of conservative sentiment, leading captive silly women and thoughtless men; its preachers have entered the pulpits of almost every denomination, and its politicians, wily and sagacious, have toned their sentiments to their audiences, and, professing to be conservative, have instilled into the minds of men the most pestilent heresies to the Constitution and the principles of the fathers. The course of radicalism among the newspapers was most ingenious and successful. It not only sustained its bold advocates, and encouraged them in attacks on the Union, but it slyly caught the weaker sort of papers, all such as were bidding for popularity of any kind, and subsidized such journals as the New York *Times*, and a few others of similar caliber, to do in secret the work which openly they could not expect to accomplish. By these means the heresies of rank abolitionism have been scattered broadcast over the land, introduced into families and schools and Churches, and if they have not been adopted by the people, have at least been so presented as to appear familiar, and enticing, concealing always their fundamental characteristic of enmity to the Union, and their logical result, if they are true, that the Constitution is a "covenant with hell," as the bolder minds among the plotters openly avow to be their creed. Meantime, the conservative portion of the people have done nothing to counteract these influences. They have not established papers, they have not published pamphlets, they have not employed lecturers, they have not sought to keep before the people the truths of the old times. On the contrary, the great body of the conservative men to-day actually support the newspapers which are disseminating sedition and disunion through the land, and the idea of circulating even such documents as Washington's Farewell Address, and other grand papers, among the people, does not seem to have occurred to any of our patriotic citizens.

We are now on the verge of a political crisis. We are to go on in prosperity on the old paths, or we are to be diverted by radicalism into new paths. We are to govern the country in a Union of South and North, East and West, or we are to govern it by a sectional party, hostile to Southern sentiment, and hostile to a Union of hearts as well as States. Prosperity or anarchy is before us. In some respects we are in the position of the States before the Constitution. Then the question was, shall there be a Union, and if so, on what basis? Now there is no question whether there shall be a Union, for that "must and shall be," but the terms of Union are to be settled by the voice of the majority. Loyalty or disloyalty is now presented to every man, North and South. If you stand by Union and Constitution, you are loyal; if you fail to sustain either Union or Constitution in thought, word or deed, you are disloyal. There is a vast amount of disloyalty at the North. It has been rampant at Washington in the Smithsonian Institute lectures. It has grown bold at Boston in the Abolition offices. It shrinks from sight, but exists in New York in newspapers, and in the secret clubs and societies which are said to be among us, pledged to the purpose of radical Abolitionism. At this moment it becomes the duty of conservative men to stand firmly together, to unite in disseminating truth, in sustaining those newspapers which are loyal and free from suspicion of disunionism, in circulating sound constitutional documents, in teaching the people the old paths. Observe that while the radical men are flooding Congress with petitions for all sorts of anti-constitutional action, the conservative men send none, or so few as to be lamentably outweighed in influence. While all kinds of Abolition meetings, conventions, lectures and pow-wows are held in every city and village in the land, the friends of the American Union and Constitution remain idle, though they outnumber the radical foe full three times. It will not do to trust in this majority. It must be roused, taught, drilled, made active, and united in a grand demonstration against one of the worst dangers which ever threatened a people. Those who undertake this work will be greeted by a fierce opposition. They will be called traitors if they dare to defend the Constitution, will be called infidels and sinners if they praise the memory and the political creed of Washington. The President of the United States has already been warned in language of the clearest sort, that if he does not yield to the schemes of the radical men, he will be deemed accursed. No conservative sentiment has thus far escaped their denunciations, no conservative man or newspaper has been free from their malice and billingsgate. But the newspapers and men who have been loudest in abuse of constitutional patriots, have thus far, almost without exception, turned out to be engaged in war contracts, or seeking office for themselves, and those who meet them boldly, expose their motives, and show the disloyal character of their political plans, will be certain to triumph over them. We have confidence that the fever of radicalism has passed its highest point. There is hope in the future, if men of sound principle will now act together. Many good men who have insensibly allowed themselves to be led into the ranks of radicalism are retracing their steps and occupying conservative ground. But the time has come when work must be done, and the persevering example of radicalism should now be followed by those who desire to have the future renew the glory of the past. Let us have great conservative, constitutional meetings, and let sound petitions, documents, and newspapers be circulated throughout the nation.

EXETER HALL.

From The New York Express.

WE see by the last European news that a deputation from that proverbially self-righteous institution, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, have been expressing a "hope" to the American Minister in London that the restoration of the Union would be founded upon the "abolition of slavery as the true cause of the strife." The reply of Mr. Adams is not yet published; but we trust he did not forget to remind these pharisaical busybodies that these very British Abolitionists were themselves a primary "cause of the strife." We trust he reminded them that British Abolition orators, and British gold, collected at Abolition meetings and anti-slavery fairs, London, Edinburg, Glasgow and elsewhere, were instrumentalities effectively employed, years ago, to excite the Northern mind against slavery and slaveholders, thus preparing the way for the hostility between the two sections, now existing. There was scarcely a thought of "strife" among us, until these English and Scotch abolition seeds, first sown in New England soil, began to bear fruit. Such being the fact, it does not become these hypocrites, in the presence of the fearful conflagration they have helped to kindle, to be now expressing a "hope" for the reconstruction of that Union they have done their best, or their worst to destroy.

If they are really solicitous for the cause of "humanity," let their surplus philanthropy seek an investment in British India, where (in the Mahratta) another rebellion, we perceive, is in progress. The "rebels" there are not "negroes," to be sure—but they are human beings, nevertheless, seeking to emancipate themselves from the worse than Southern bondage in which Englishmen hold them. Our people are tired and sick of this eternal interference in our domestic affairs, by these Pharisees of Exeter Hall, and it is high time that they were taught, by the American Minister in London, or somebody else, to mind their own business. British Abolitionism, we cannot forget, was as loud as the most inveterate British Tory, in demanding the surrender of the rebel Commissioners, Mason and Slidell, last winter—and nobody threatened speedier or surer vengeance upon us than it did—if the rebels were not delivered up. Thus when there was a seeming chance of helping the rebels, the rebels were helped—and when the rebel cause began to go down hill, we have them now praying for a "reconstruction of the Union" on their plan. Out upon such hypocrisy!

PHILLIPS'S OPINION OF MASSACHUSETTS EDITORS.

WENDELL PHILLIPS is reported as saying, in his late Boston speech, that the press of Boston and of Massachusetts is "vassal"; that the press of the Connecticut valley is as base as that of the seaboard, and that, if Massachusetts saves herself, it will be in spite of her editors. Phillips can say smart things as well as any other man; and better than most, because he is limited by no considerations of truth or good manners. Precisely what he means by calling the editors of Massachusetts "vassal" he would probably be puzzled to explain. He calls them names because they will not puff him and his little cabal and accept their opinions. If the editors of this State are not independent in their opinions it must be from mental imbecility, for they are not tempted to any sort of vassalage. There is scarcely a paper in the State which can properly be called a party organ, and there is not one of any prominence whose interest is not best subserved by the faithful record of current events and the discussion of public affairs with candor and impartiality. But Mr. Phillips's idea of freedom in an editor is, freedom to agree with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison, and there is no more bigoted and intolerant set of men in the world than the little mutual admiration society of Boston Abolitionists, who find it impossible to consider anybody free or honest who does not agree with them in opinion, and look up to them as the embodiment of the wisdom and philanthropy of their age and generation. The editors of Massachusetts choose to do their own thinking, and Mr. Phillips calls them vassals and other opprobrious names. Let him rail on; it is his vocation. There is nothing else left to him and his party, for the people are a long distance ahead of them in practical effort for the removal of slavery.—*Springfield Republican.*

[It is, we suppose, in such candid, sweet-tempered paragraphs as the above that the un-friends of the Abolitionists would set them an example of the spirit and manner in which they should conduct their enterprise! What a fine thing it is, to be sure, to keep an unruffled temper, and to hold one's self conscientiously "limited by considerations of truth and good manners"!!—*Ed. Standard.*]

GOT HIS EYES OPEN.

From The Boston Courier.

A YOUNG Vermont soldier, who has just come home wounded, tells us that he went down among the first, honestly to fight to right the wrongs of the negro. Of these he had heard a great deal from his earliest days, and his object was to free this poor, enslaved, oppressed creature, panting and struggling to burst his bonds, and with his eye anxiously fixed on the North to come forward and just lend him a helping hand, and all the rest he would do himself. Accordingly, our young Vermonter and soldier entered into the affair with honest zeal, and formed one of the expedition sent out to Big Bethel, where our troops were led into an ambuscade by a negro pretending to be a fugitive, though of that the Vermonter knew nothing. When the action took place, to his astonishment the first thing he specially noticed was a burly negro, on the other side, touching off a cannon against the very breasts of his liberators; and upon getting forward on an elevation, he saw at a little distance a considerable body of the same color, blazing away with muskets—alas, not on the side of "freedom"! The young Vermonter, thereupon, "dropt the negro," and will be hereafter a wiser and far more useful member of society.

Selections.

MOVEMENTS FOR EMANCIPATION IN THE BORDER STATES.

DELAWARE.

THE Delaware *State Journal and Statesman* (Wilmington), the leading Whig and conservative organ in other days, announces broadly the readiness of the Unionists of Delaware to accept the broad issue made up by the slaveholders' rebellion on the one hand and the President's Emancipation Message on the other. The following well-considered leader from its issue of the 22d inst. possesses a national importance:

EMANCIPATION.

That the question of emancipation with compensation will enter largely into our next elections, no one can doubt who looks at the course to which political events are and have been tending since the rebellion. Indeed, it will form the main feature, the controlling principle, of the party of the Union, throughout the States, and will swallow up all other party questions and creeds in the magnitude of its importance and bearing upon the interests of the country at large.

The question of slavery has, more or less, entered into almost every campaign—national and local—for many years past, but in a somewhat limited or partisan sense. Then, those who dared to advocate emancipation—no matter how honest or conscientious may have been their convictions—were called "Abolitionists," "Union-Splitters," "Fanatics," and other vile names hunted out from the prolific vocabulary of Loco-Focoism; and all manner of evil intentions against the Constitution and peace of the Union were charged upon them; but now a change is visible in this respect. Abolition has ceased to be the scarecrow of politicians. The people have learned from the rebellion to examine a little closer for themselves, and not trust so much to demagogues for their knowledge of political ethics. They have seen that, while fanaticism and disunion have been charged upon Northern statesmen and States, treason has been nurtured and cultivated in the South by the slave-driving lords of cottondom, until it has at length culminated in a sanguinary war, which, for ferocity and barrenness of substantial purpose, is without a parallel in the history of the world. They have seen, too, that those who have uniformly been charged with disloyalty, and a disposition to break up the government, are the true friends and supporters of the Union, while those whose office it has been these many years past to cry out, "the Union is dissolved by Northern fanatics," are the real and only foes of the peace, happiness and prosperity of the Republic.

The people have learned to appreciate the force and meaning of the terms "Abolitionist," "Black Republican," and other mean epithets which have been systematically and persistently heaped upon those who refused to bow the knee to slavery and subserve its ambitious designs upon the liberties of the country. Such slang nick-names will no longer serve to cheat honest men out of their votes, but are passed by as meaningless and insulting deceptions, calculated to cover up the real objects of their inventors, and to assist them the more readily to slip into power and partake of the luxury of public plunder, which they so well know, from long experience and practice, how to enjoy. Partisan rancor and sectional malevolence are gradually but surely passing away, and a purer current of popular thought and investigation has engaged the minds of the people. They begin to realize the fact that slavery, and not abolition, is the perfidious parent of all our national troubles. That it is the forging of chains for human limbs to wear in perpetual bondage, and not the pleadings of liberty in behalf of all her children, which has to-day deluged the land in blood, and desolated a large portion of the country. That it is the dark shadow of a barbarous and cruel age hanging like a sable pall over the hopes and happiness of a large portion of our people in this nineteenth century, instead of the humanity, truth and light, of the principles of the Declaration of American Independence, that now impedes their progress to prosperity and usefulness. The thinking masses are alive to these facts; they recognize their importance and influence upon the social and political interests of the nation, and therefore are prepared to take hold of the slavery question with a determination and zeal that will forever set at rest the disturbing elements of which it is made up.

Men are, to-day, willing to be called Abolitionists, who, one year ago, would have felt insulted at even a distant intimation of any such idea. The word has lost its evil spell; and thousands of honest, patriotic, loyal hearts are ready to inscribe EMANCIPATION on their banners, and bear it on to triumph through the storm of bullets or the more calm battle of the ballot-box. The time for this has come. The North is ready. The South *must* be, and in the great moral revolution where will our own State be found? In the ranks of treason? No, no, no! Delaware must and will be on the side of Liberty. She cannot step aside from the track of patriotism; she must not refuse to do her duty; she will not lag behind her sister States in the forward march of human greatness and Christian charity; SHE WILL BE FREE. Free from all taint of *disloyalty*. Free from any suspicion of complicity with treason or traitors. Free from further legal sanction of that gigantic curse which has so long bound her to sluggish inactivity and limited her power and influence as a State. And as she emerges from the blackness of the cloud in which all her local interests have so long been buried well nigh unto oblivion, she will be free to declare, in all the pride and majesty of her redemption, that henceforth and forever she will give full and entire recognition and scope to those inalienable rights of man, "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." Thus will glorious little Delaware be found. No other position in the momentous struggle will become her.

Baltimore Correspondence of The Evening Post.

The Delaware people are preparing for the coming election campaign in that State, and they are rapidly dividing into two parties—the one for emancipation on the Lincoln basis, and the other against it. The probability is that Judge Fisher, her present able Representative in Congress, will be the emancipation candidate for Governor. If he is, his personal popularity will give such strength to the ticket that success will be almost certain. The Wilmington press is speaking out with all the boldness of *The Evening Post* on the subject of slavery in all its despicable relations, and the chances are bright that slavery will be overturned in Delaware at the very next election. If Congress should adopt a general law on the basis of the District of Columbia abolition law, slavery in the Border slave States would topple to its fall in a very brief time.

MARYLAND.

In Maryland, too, the spirit of liberty is abroad, and the people are moving towards freedom. In that State the slaveholders have one advantage; emancipation cannot be decreed without a change in the State Constitution. But the emancipationists hope to get even this, and if they should fail, there is no doubt that even an equal taxation on the slave property in the State will make slavery so unprofitable as to drive it from the State. At present, we believe, slaves cannot be taxed on a higher value than three hundred dollars, and the slaveholders escape, therefore, their just share of the burdens of taxation. This once changed, as it must be, and a serious blow is struck at slavery in Maryland. It is but a few months ago since a New Yorker, travelling in Eastern Maryland, asked why certain ambitious politicians did not take the lead in an emancipation movement. It was replied, that, to do so, would be to ruin their prospects of preferment. Already this is changed, and before the next State election the best men of the State will be found in the front of an emancipation party.—*Evening Post.*

It is rumored, and I think there is some basis for the rumor, that Gov. Bradford will convene an extra session of the Legislature at an early day, to authorise a call of a Constitutional Convention, with a view to the question of emancipation in this State. The bill for this purpose, which was defeated by the President of the Senate at the regular session, left the Convention free to discuss the slavery question, which was prohibited by a provision that was struck out on the motion of Reverdy Johnson. The duty of the Legislature to call the Convention is made imperative by the Constitution.

A good story is afloat, said to have come from Gov. Hicks himself. When he called upon the President to protest against his signature of the District of Columbia abolition bill, Mr. Lincoln is reported to have said that the Governor was the only man from any of the border slave States who had protested against the approval of the bill. The Governor is said to have disclaimed any idea of protesting. He merely wished to say to the President that its approval would destroy the Union party in Maryland. Whereupon the President remarked: "The Union party of Maryland, then, would prefer the gratification of seeing Congress kept in a continual turmoil and agitation by this question, to having it removed forever from the legislative councils? Is that it?"—*Wash. Cor. Evening Post.*

The Baltimore *American*, one of the ablest, and heretofore one of the most conservative journals in Maryland, is out in favor of gradual emancipation.

WESTERN VIRGINIA.

From The Wheeling Intelligencer.

THE VOTE FOR A FREE STATE.

The recent vote in Western Virginia is receiving marked attention throughout the country—not only on account of its magnitude, but its significance. It is regarded as an unmistakable indication that our people want to make their State a free State, and cannot fail to have a favorable influence upon Congress in the consideration of our application for admission. It should be remembered always, in speaking of this vote, that it was elicited under the most unfavorable circumstances that can be imagined. It is about the first expression of the kind in the history of this country, certainly the first in the history of this State, and necessarily had arrayed against it all the objections arrayed against anything that lacks a precedent. Our people were not in the habit of holding elections of their own accord, and many didn't like to do it; while others never troubled themselves to find out just how it could be done, simple as the process was. The Convention had seen fit in its wisdom to deny the people any expression on the subject, and the vote proposed to accomplish no apparent result. For this reason, thousands who voted on the Constitution alone would have voted for Emancipation had a vote been ordered by the Convention; while great numbers, deprived of the vote they chiefly desired to give, stayed away from the polls altogether. A very numerous class didn't vote on the subject because it promised no practical result. They could not vote anything into the Constitution or out of it, or change it in any respect by voting, and they did not care to look to the future for a result. They were very practical in their views, and did not vote at all. But the chief obstacle to a full vote on emancipation was, that poll-books were not opened in many Counties at all, and at some precincts in others. This was not on account of any hostility to taking the vote, but simply the result of indifference; simply because it was nobody's business to attend to it. Poll-books and clerks for the vote on the Constitution were provided in every County and at every precinct by the State authorities, but in a great many Counties nobody felt interested enough to see that they were provided for a vote on emancipation; so that, although in many cases votes were offered, there was no one to record them, while, as a general thing, there being no provision for recording them, none were offered. There were no candidates, who always make it their business to see that poll-books are provided. There was nobody to bring the voters to the polls. There was nobody to make speeches and excite interest and rivalry. People were indifferent, because of the general disappointment at the action of the Convention. They had about made up their minds that present success for the new State had been sacrificed; and voting for a principle, when the vote promised no immediate good, was rather a dull business to induce them to leave their vocations at a busy season.

In many Counties there were zealous and devoted men who made it their business to see that preparations for a vote were made. They deserve to be honored (and the time is coming when they will be) for their adherence to a good cause in a discouraging hour. One thing that should be marked in this connection is this: that wherever a poll was opened for a vote on emancipation the people voted. The vote in such Counties compares very favorably with that on the Constitution. It is also to be observed that nearly always where the vote for the emancipation fell short of the vote for the Constitution, the residue is not against emancipation, but simply silent—men who were timid, perhaps, or indifferent, but not pro-slavery; for we may be sure that every pro-slavery man who voted on the Constitution where the other poll was open voted against emancipation—and we find the number thus voting very small.

To any friend of a new and free State in Western Virginia, understanding the peculiar and complex difficulties under which this vote was elicited, it is a very gratifying exhibition. We realize that there is a considerable old fogy element in the new State, but not nearly so large as it would have people believe. It was represented at least double in the Convention, but does not comprise more than three-tenths of our people. Only give them any fair chance at a legal expression on this subject, and the result will verify the assertion. Everything considered, the recent vote taken in spite of the Convention, and in spite of the politicians, is a gratifying evidence of this fact, and one that has surprised many at home as well as abroad.

From The Wellsburg (Va.) Herald.

Was there ever a greater revolution in public sentiment than has been wrought in the public mind of Western Virginia during the last very few months on this very subject? The late election tells the tale. In Counties where, eighteen months ago, the venerable Ruffner was treated with contumely and insult for having years before been the author of a pamphlet advocating gradual emancipation, the people after one year's tuition in the rough school of war endorse his views by a vote which is wonderful for its unanimity. In Counties where, a few months ago, to question the divinity of slavery was to court at least political martyrdom, the sovereigns have voted one hundred to one to get rid of the institution. When the official vote of last Thursday comes to be published, those who have doubted the liberalizing effect of the war upon the minds of the people on this subject will be astounded. Preston rolls up her 1,500 majority for a free State; Wood her 1,300 to 13; Monongalia, Marshall, Wetzel, Tyler, Harrison, the home of Carlile, and Marion, the den of the Haymonds, the Neesons, and of more traitors than any other County of equal population can boast, all uniformly give tremendous majorities for the new Constitution, and, where a vote was taken, for gradual emancipation.

Verily, slavery is doomed in West Virginia from the date of that vote; and unless the educationary process be quickly stopped, it will not be long before the Valley, Piedmont and Tide Water will experience the same startling phenomenon.

MISSOURI.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

CINCINNATI, April 23, 1862.

There is soon to be an effort on the part of the anti-slavery men of Missouri to "initiate emancipation" under the resolution proposed by the President and passed by Congress. Careful estimates have been made, which show that negroes are the most precarious property imaginable in that State. It seems there were before the breaking out of the war a little over 150,000 slaves in Missouri; now it is very certain there are not more than 50,000. About a third of the missing 100,000 have escaped, and the rest have been sold South owing to the unusual facilities for escape. Out of this state of things there are signs of a forthcoming panic among the slaveholders, which will lead to the freedom of Missouri, either by sales Southward or to the government. The anti-slavery men of that State think of pressing the matter upon the immediate attention of the people; and speakers able to canvass the matter before them are to be called from various parts of the country. The difficulty in the way of any formal emancipation, as I learn, is that, by a clause in the present Constitution of Missouri, which is traceable to the twilight days of Col. Benton, it is provided that the Constitution shall never be so amended as to abolish slavery. If this be so, it should be and will be held that no Convention had any right under a Republican government to close the door of reform against the will of the people.

If Missouri should abolish slavery, we shall look to see an improvement in her neighbors, especially Illinois, which, with her Black Laws, is to-day far the meanest State in the Union.

From The Evening Post.

We hear that a number of the most respectable men in Missouri will "take the stump" on this question during the coming summer and autumn. We have printed extracts from a letter by Mr. B. Gratz Brown and a speech by Mr. Charles D. Drake, two of the most esteemed citizens of Missouri, on the subject. Mr. Drake's address was delivered on the 14th of April, before the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association. He says, that "to provide in some well-considered, equitable and gradual way for the eventual removal of slavery from our soil would do more than all other things to lift Missouri speedily out of her present unhappy condition, and start her forward in a fresh and higher career of prosperity."

Mr. Brown, in his letter to the St. Joseph *New Era*, urges that to save Missouri from financial ruin slavery must be abolished; and adds, what experience has proved, that if the people now declare for freedom, the few slaves who remain in the State (one half having already disappeared since the rebellion broke out) would quickly be taken from the State, and that would become free at a trifling cost. As Mr. Brown believes it to the interest of his State to become free, he means to urge freedom upon the people. He says: "Like all other great reforms that spring from the popular heart, this too must depend in a great measure upon incessant agitation. I do not hesitate to confess myself an 'agitator' in this behalf, and intend to continue an agitator, if life be spared me, until Missouri takes her stand amid the free States of the great West." He will not be alone in the work.

From The St. Louis Democrat.

Nothing is more certain than that Missouri must ultimately be a free State. Of all those who discuss the subject with any pretension to intelligence, there is not one in a hundred but asserts or assents to that proposition. *Slave labor is intrinsically unprofitable in Missouri to those who use it.* Our staples are not those in the production of which that species of labor can be employed to advantage on any scale. The favorite 'isothermal' theory of some advocates of the system excludes our State from the semi-tropical paradise where they suppose slavery could flourish, or would contribute to productive wealth. Still more, the peculiar natural resources of Missouri are such as to invite skill, enterprise and free labor, and therefore to render undesirable a system which tends to shut those out.

The present is, in fact, a most auspicious time to inaugurate a policy of emancipation in Missouri. None more favorable is ever likely to occur. Men's minds are now engaged with the subject. They have before their eyes some of the fruits of the full developed system. But for the infatuation which strove, with partial success, to identify Missouri with "the fifteen States of the South," as one of them, her fields would not have been ravaged, and her thousands of happy dwelling places made desolate by civil war, as they are at this hour.

All good men desire to see peace restored to Missouri, and that she should enter upon the career of prosperity for which nature has bestowed the elemental means. No single step could contribute so greatly to those results as the inauguration of such a policy as shall invite to our borders the capital and enterprise of the free States. From "the fifteen States" we can expect neither of these, nor is there any reason why the destinies of Missouri should be in any special manner identified with those of the revolted States.

THE DIABOLISM OF SLAVERY.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

COM. FOOTE'S FLOTILLA, above Fort Pillow, Thursday Afternoon, April 24, 1862.

JUST above where we are lying, on the Tennessee shore, in Lauderdale County, resides a family formerly of Iowa, who have lived there for the past four or five years, and have witnessed the workings of secession in this vicinity. They say that immediately after the declaration that Tennessee had gone out of the Union, bands of armed men went prowling about the country, robbing whomsoever they chose, insulting women, and forcing loyal citizens into the rebel service at the point of the bayonet. They committed the greatest outrages everywhere, and the family of which I speak were deprived of everything valuable in the house; while the head of the household was compelled to fly from home and hide in the woods at least six or seven times to avoid impressment.

A number of Union men refused to embrace treason even when threatened with death, and those brave spirits were carried off and executed by the mob. The wife of the Iowa man says *a great many were hanged, and that she herself knows six who were suspended from a tree within two miles of her own dwelling, and left there a prey to the buzzards and the crows.* Their bodies were afterward taken down and buried, but not before the rebel outlaws were at a safe distance, as the people were fearful, and not without reason, that had it been known the rights of sepulture were given to the poor martyrs, those who performed that common act of charity would probably have shared their fate.

The woman says that *one of the Union men who had been impressed and afterward deserted, more perhaps because he believed his family were starving than from his abhorrence of joining so unholy a cause, was captured in Lauderdale County while on his way home, and was actually nailed to a tree and left there to perish by inches.* The man was found there a week after, merely by accident, as he had been gagged to prevent his outcries, and thus deprive him of all hope of release, and taken to the house of a neighbor. The unfortunate victim was still alive, but so much exhausted from exposure, famine and pain, that he died on the second day after his release, notwithstanding every effort was made to save his life. This story seems most improbable; too horrible for belief; but the woman, who has no motive for misrepresentation, declares it true, and I can see no good reason for discrediting her account of the unnaturally cruel and entirely monstrous transaction.

No one in the North, especially one who has never travelled in the South, is aware how barbarous and inhuman is the influence of slavery on the white race; how it blunts and eventually destroys all their sensibilities, and often demonizes humanity. Half of the crimes and horrors it generates are kept concealed; for its favoring atmosphere is that of darkness, violence and sin. No man, however cultivated, no woman, however refined by nature, escapes the great contagion of slavery, which blights whatever it touches, and destroys, of necessity, every vestige of beauty and truth that is exposed to its baneful influence.

Your correspondent has seen, in years gone by, in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and other of the slave States, scenes that made him shudder and his blood creep, and when he spoke of the cruelty and barbarity practiced upon plantations, some "Southern gentleman" has said: "Oh, it is unpleasant, but it is necessary"; and a brutal overseer has laughed, and observed, with a horrid leer, "D——n the niggers. You can't keep 'em down unless you whip 'em like h—l once in a while"; "once in a while" meaning whenever his savage nature, delighting, seemingly, in the infliction of pain upon others, required the stimulus of human suffering for its gratification.

Legree has been called by Southerners a monstrous caricature of the overseer, an impossible and absurd representative of that necessary appendage to a plantation. Would it were so! But Legrees are numerous in Cottondom, and no one can long journey there without seeing many of this class.

The Southerners are very fond of saying the deep prejudice of the North against the peculiar institution arises from ignorance of its true character and practical workings; that if the Abolitionists had travelled in the slave States they would have seen and corrected their errors, and recanted their false and incendiary theories.

Strange delusion or impertinent falsehood! The man who possesses any sense of justice, any sympathy with suffering, any commiseration for helpless agony, must never go South if he would tolerate slavery. To see slavery is to abhor it, unless debased by its associations; to comprehend it is ever to pray for its extinction; to endure it is proof positive that its contagion has been imparted.

Apropos of this, there is a negro chambermaid on one of the transports, the John H. Dickey, who was formerly a slave in Virginia. She has been in great terror down here, thinking the rebels might capture the Dickey, and, taking her prisoner, return her to her former condition of bondage of which she has the greatest terror; declaring she would rather die a thousand deaths than be a slave again. So much has this fear acted upon her that she has resolved, though having a very good situation, and earning excellent wages, to go North at once. She says she does not fear death, but that she trembles at the idea of losing her liberty. She often dreams, she adds, of being a slave again, and her sufferings even in sleep are greater than she can describe.

What a dull, ungrateful creature must she be not to appreciate the blessings of bondage, and to leave the state which the South has selected to develop, humanize and elevate the black race even at the expense of its own freedom, progress and civilization!

THE NEGROES OF ALABAMA WELCOMING THE NORTHERN ARMY.

From the Correspondence of The Cincinnati Gazette.

HUNTSVILLE, Ala., April 13, 1862.

A STRONG Union feeling was manifested after we entered the State of Alabama, but it was mingled with many false notions concerning State sovereignty, and the duty of submission thereto.

The negroes that we saw were kind and friendly, and generous and benevolent, even when their masters were most strongly secesh.

Shortly after entering the State, we passed the vast plantation of the secession General, N. P. Walker, extending along the road for miles. The mansion was utterly deserted, and all the furniture removed. A perfect host of negroes came down to see and to welcome us. They laughed, they sang, they danced, in their glee. I stopped a moment to converse with them. "By golly," said a fine-looking, honest young negro, "I'se a great notion to go along with this crowd! What do you say, massa?" "My poor friend," I replied, "if you do, you will probably be turned out of our lines the first place we encamp; somebody who claims you will come and take you back; and then, beside being severely punished for running away, you will in every respect be worse off than before." The negro understood me. "It is very hard, massa," said he. His voice faltered; I saw that tears were gathering in his eyes, and I rode away, as my own were growing moist and dim.

A detached house upon Gen. Walker's plantation was in flames when I passed. It had been set on fire by some of our soldiers, but whether accidentally or not I did not stop to inquire. One of the negroes had a heavy iron ring and bolt fastened to his leg. He said he had worn them for more than three months. A cavalryman descended quietly from his horse, knocked off the fetters, fastened them to his saddle, and rode away. "By Heaven," I heard him mutter, "I would forfeit a year's pay for the privilege of transferring these to the leg of the rascal who put them on that man!"

DECATUR, Ala., April 14, 1862.

The negroes were gathered in masses all along the road. As the cars passed they bowed, they scraped, they grinned, they pulled off their hats, and in every way tried to secure a recognition from those whom they considered their friends. Occasionally a generous-hearted soldier would wave his hand or flourish his sword to them, and then their childlike manifestations of delight literally knew no bounds.

Whenever the train stopped the colored people would climb on board, and beg to be taken along. One sad, earnest face peeped into the door of the car in which I was sitting, and its owner put up the usual petition. "Get down," said an officer on board; "get down and go to your master; we cannot take you." The slave shuddered at the word "master." "O for de good God's sake," said he, "let me go wid you and wait on you all!" There was a perceptible tremor in the officer's voice as he repeated his command to the negro, and I saw that a tear was stealing down the cheek of a rough dragoon, who sat upon a seat just opposite to me.

A RIGHTEOUS PARDON.

Baltimore Correspondence of The Evening Post.

IT will be remembered that, some five years ago, the County Court of Dorchester, in this State, condemned the Rev. Samuel Green, a colored local Methodist Episcopal preacher of irreproachable character, to ten years' imprisonment in the penitentiary, for "having in his possession 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'" This was done under a law then recently passed, and still disgracing our statute book, to suppress what are called "incendiary publications," and to prevent their circulation amongst the slaves. This condemnation deeply shocked the public conscience at the time, notwithstanding it had been drugged almost to death by the virus of pro-slavery, and the subsequent execution of the barbarous and cruel sentence upon this helpless black man has never set well upon the public mind.

A Methodist Episcopal Conference, some two or more years ago, sitting on the Eastern Shore, interposed in behalf of Mr. Green, with great earnestness of purpose, for his pardon; but, to the astonishment of friend and foe, the otherwise kind-hearted Gov. Hicks positively refused to grant the prayer of the petitioners, and declared that Green should never go out of prison so long as he was Governor; and he kept his word. But this victim of pro-slavery vengeance was not forgotten. He was employed in the lighter but responsible duties about the warden's office, and discharged them so well as to receive the constant approbation of that officer.

Two gentlemen of the Society of Friends in this city never forgot him. The prisoner filled a large place in their hearts. Last week, at their instance in part, but rather moved thereto by his own sterling qualities of justice and mercy, Gov. Bradford granted Mr. Green a pardon, and released him from his unjust captivity, on condition of his expatriation, which was required by the County Court of Dorchester and the State's Attorney, and which was readily conceded by the prisoner, because he had determined to remove to Canada just previous to his arrest and condemnation, having paid that country a visit with a view to emigration thither. He is in his sixty-second year, and his wife in her sixtieth. His property, which was considerable, has taken wings and fled, and he is now penniless, but he will find friends who will help him on his way.

Thus have the chains fallen from the limbs of this martyr of slaveholding tyranny for free speech and a free press, when no one hoped for such a result. All hail to Gov. Bradford for this just exercise of executive clemency! When the authors of the infamous law that consigned Green to a dungeon for having "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in his possession, and the judiciary that executed its iniquitous provisions against this helpless black man, who in intellect and morals is the superior of his persecutors, shall be remembered only to be scorned, Gov. Bradford's righteous pardon of the patient victim will stand out on the dark page of slavery as an act of compassion that will shine brighter and brighter to the end, and will be blessed by the millions of colored freemen who are destined yet to a higher civilization than that which their once white masters boasted of.

A SLAVE-HUNTER REBUKED!

THE following letter from Donn Piatt, Aid to Gen. R. C. Schenck, commanding a brigade in active service in West Virginia, in answer to a slaveholder's demand that two boys be surrendered to him, will commend itself to general approbation:

HEADQUARTERS, SCHENCK'S BRIGADE, MOUNTAIN DEPARTMENT, CAMP LEE, April 25, 1862.

SIR: I am instructed by Gen. Schenck to reply to your letter of the 17th inst., in which you state that two boys, servants (meaning blacks—slaves), have been employed by officers of the 5th Regiment Virginia Volunteer Infantry, belonging to this brigade; that the boys desire to return to you; and that you request the General to take measures for having them restored or sent back.

The General has sent for the boys, found them, examined and carefully interrogated them himself, and ascertains, from their account of themselves, that they left of their own accord, and prefer remaining where they are. He will not therefore interfere between you and them.

By your own admission these boys are not claimed by you as property of your own, but are represented as belonging to your son James Armstrong, who, some time since, for reasons connected with his relation to the present disturbed condition of our country, abandoned his farm or household, leaving his servants behind him. If he had remained at home, as a true and loyal citizen, it is not probable that they would have followed his example, or sought place or employment elsewhere. But this fact does not materially affect the question. The decision of the General would have been the same if the boys were claimed as your own slaves.

You are aware, it seems, of the existence of a law, recently passed by Congress, prohibiting the use of our soldiers in returning to their masters fugitives from service. This law you must expect him to obey under his sense of duty as an officer; and he will obey it cheerfully because it commends itself to his judgment and conscience as a necessary and wholesome enactment. It is neither reasonable to expect our armies, nor, in fact, possible for them, to carry along on the march the proper civil agents and process to enforce the statutory provisions in relation to fugitives. Our military forces have all their time

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

and attention more appropriately occupied in the suppression of a causeless and infamous rebellion, instigated and sustained generally by the very men who, while they thus interrupt the due enforcement and execution of the laws by the regularly constituted tribunals and ministers, are clamorous for help for that peculiar species of property which can have little possible protection outside of the Constitution and Union which they are treacherously seeking to overthrow.

The General commanding this brigade will, therefore, as has been stated to you, not interfere with the military force at his command between the claimant and the fugitive slave. He will neither allow the one class nor the other as loafers about his camps. But if either of them, coming voluntarily within his lines, can be profitably employed, within the scope of military restrictions and usages, as guides, servants, laborers, or in any other available capacity, he will not hesitate to so engage them or permit them to be engaged. He will punish any officer or private soldier of his command who may be caught either enticing or forcing a slave to leave his loyal master; but he will not lend his soldiers to be established as guards to prevent the escape of fugitives from bondage seeking their liberty.

In his camps, too, he is resolved there shall be no disturbance occasioned by this peculiar relation and the claims to which it gives rise. If the master and the runaway, in case the latter be found at any time within our lines, can quietly agree to their mutual satisfaction, that the old relation between them shall be restored, the General will not permit interference to prevent such amicable adjustment of the question. But he will not allow *force* to be used, either by the master to reclaim his power, or by his officers or soldiers to resist the demand. Such conduct he would punish, on either side, as he would any other scene of disorder subversive of military rule and good discipline.

By order of Brig.-Gen. SCHENCK.
Very respectfully yours,
DONN PIATT, A. A. G.
Hon. WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, New Creek, Va.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1862.

REMOVAL.

THE office of THE STANDARD is now at No. 48 Beekman st., North side, just below William st., in the second story front room.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON.

THE Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was held in this city on Tuesday May 6th: at the Church of the Puritans, and at the Cooper Institute. The first meeting took place at the Church of the Puritans (Dr. CHEEVER'S), commencing at 10 o'clock, a.m. A very large and highly intelligent audience was in attendance, the church being entirely filled, and among them were many who, years ago, enlisted for the war, and have been spared to see the "beginning of the end" for which they have so long and so faithfully labored. On the platform were seated the President of the Society, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, WM. GOODELL, WM. WELLS BROWN, THEODORE TILTON, Rev. Mr. POST, of Jersey City, Rev. R. M. HATFIELD, of Brooklyn, and other well-known friends of the Anti-Slavery cause.

Opening Remarks of Mr. Garrison.

At the hour above mentioned, the PRESIDENT called the meeting to order, and said:

I congratulate the audience on the day and the occasion on which we are assembled together. I congratulate you upon the tidings which have come to us from Yorktown; but there is to be something more glorious than any retreat of the enemy either from Yorktown or any other part of our country: and that is, the retreat of slavery from our country and the world (applause). I congratulate the American Anti-Slavery Society on being permitted to enjoy the privilege of holding one of its annual meetings in this consecrated house; and had the same generous and Christian spirit been always exhibited toward it from the beginning till now, there had never been any controversy of the American Anti-Slavery Society with the Churches or the clergy of the land. Our movement is emphatically, radically, thoroughly, a Christian movement, in the primitive meaning of the word. We have endeavored, ever since its organization, to defend the Gospel of Jesus Christ as a freedom-loving and freedom-giving Gospel, and to disclaim all assertions as false and blasphemous which would attribute either to God or to Jesus Christ the responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery in our land.

Without further preliminary remarks, I will read a few selections from the Scriptures, which seem to me applicable to the occasion.

Mr. Garrison then read passages of Scripture as follows:

Thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine.

Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings.

Thus saith the Lord: A sword, a sword is sharpened, and also furbished. It is sharpened to make a sore slaughter; it is furbished that it may glitter: should we then make mirth? Cry and howl, son of man; for it shall be upon my people; it is made bright, it is wrapped up for the slaughter.

Son of man, say unto her, Thou art the land that is not cleansed, nor rained upon in the day of indignation. There is a conspiracy of her prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring lion ravening the prey; they have devoured souls. Her priests have violated my law, and have profaned mine holy things: they have put no difference between the holy and profane, neither have they shewed difference between the clean and the unclean. Her princes in the midst thereof are like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood, and to destroy souls, to get dishonest gain.

The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy: yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully. Therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord.

Son of man, set thy face toward the south, and drop thy word toward the South, and prophesy against the forest of the south field; and say to the forest of the south, Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green tree in thee, and every dry tree: the flaming flame shall not be quenched, and all faces from the south to the north shall be burned therein. And all flesh shall see that I the Lord have kindled it: it shall not be quenched.

Wherefore, O harlot, bear the word of the Lord: Thus saith the Lord God: Because thy filthiness was poured out, and thy nakedness discovered through thy whoredoms with thy lovers, and with all the idols of thy abominations, and by the blood of thy children, which thou didst give unto them; behold, therefore, I will gather all thy lovers, with whom thou hast taken pleasure, and all them that thou hast loved, with all them that thou hast hated; I will even gather them round about against thee; and will discover thy nakedness unto them, that they may see all thy nakedness; and I will give thee blood in fury and jealousy. And I will also give thee into their hand, and they shall throw down thine eminent place, and shall break down thy high places: they shall strip thee also of thy clothes, and shall take thy fair jewels, and leave thee naked and bare. They shall also bring up a company against thee, and they shall stone thee with stones, and thrust thee through with their swords, and they shall burn thine houses with fire, and execute judgments upon thee.

Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, break every yoke. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not. And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.

In accordance with the usages of the Society, an opportunity was given to any one who wished to offer vocal prayer, and Rev. Mr. POST, of Jersey City, came forward and offered a fervent prayer to the God of the oppressed for his blessing and guidance.

In the absence of the Treasurer of the Society, WM. I. BOWDITCH, Esq., of Boston, his report was read by OLIVER JOHNSON, as follows:

ANNUAL ACCOUNT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DR.	
To publication of STANDARD, for Lecturing Agents, and office expenses	$9,983 85
To balance to new account	4,550 39
	$14,534 24
CR.	
By balance from old account	1,086 98
By donations, subscriptions to STANDARD, and sale of Tracts	13,447 26
	$14,534 24

(E.E.) May 1st, 1862. WM. I. BOWDITCH.

I have examined the above account, with the vouchers, and find the additions [illegible]ectly made, and the balance on hand as stated. OLIVER JOHNSON.

The Report was laid on the table, to be taken up at the business meeting.

The PRESIDENT then said—It was the desire of the Executive Committee that our friend GERRIT SMITH, of Peterboro, should be here to-day, and be one of the speakers on this occasion; but he has written us a letter stating that it is not convenient for him to be with us, and expressing his sentiments in regard to the state of the country in very brief terms, and I will ask Mr. JOHNSON if he will read the letter from Mr. Smith.

Mr. JOHNSON, in compliance with this request, read the following letter:

PETERBORO, April 16, 1862.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON—*My Dear Friend*: The cordial invitation in your letter of 13th inst., to attend and address the approaching Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, I should for many reasons love to accept. But I have many labors at home; and moreover, I am too old to leave home unnecessarily. You will have an abundance of speakers, and will not need my voice.

I trust that the smiles of Heaven will be upon your meeting, and that great wisdom will characterize all its proceedings.

I shall be all the more pleased with your meeting, if I find that none of its time was consumed in discussing the relations of the Federal Constitution to slavery. Whether those relations be or be not pro-slavery, so it is that the American people persisted in being pro-slavery, until they thereby destroyed the nation. Destroyed it is simply by being pro-slavery; and destroyed it is no less by the pro-slavery of the North than of the South. I do not say that it is destroyed beyond restoration. I hope it will soon be restored; and I am sure it will be ultimately.

The people were infatuated enough to be pro-slavery, whatever might be the character of the Constitution; they will now, I trust, be anti-slavery, whatever its character. They sacrificed the nation to save slavery; they will now, I trust, sacrifice slavery to save the nation. If they fell below the Constitution before, I trust that they are now willing, if need be, to rise above it.

There is one point at which the meeting should, in my judgment, put forth a clear defence of the "Garrisonian Abolitionist." His influence, especially in the case of such a man as yourself or Wendell Phillips, is too important to the cause of freedom that injustice should be allowed to impair it. The "Garrisonian Abolitionist" was formerly a Disunionist, and is now a Unionist; and hence he is charged with being inconsistent, or at least with being a convert. He is, however, the subject neither of inconsistency nor conversion. This nation, whatever it was in theory and in its laws, was practically a nation of kidnappers—of monsters. The "Garrisonian Abolitionist," despairing at last of its reformation held that it ought to be broken up. But such a change has taken place in the nation within the last year, that its reformation is no longer to be despaired of. Moreover, the reformation can be carried on far more hopefully in the union than in the disunion of the States. Hence with all consistency the "Garrisonian Abolitionist" is now a Unionist. There is a conversion. It is, however, *to* him, and not *of* him. There is a change; but it is *around* him, and not *in* him.

Whether he was right in holding that the Constitution is pro-slavery is another and inferior question. It is very inferior, because, be the Constitution pro-slavery or anti-slavery, the people are equally bound to be anti-slavery. The Constitution can bind none to be guilty of crime—can excuse none for being guilty of crime. On the immeasurably greater question, whether the nation was pro-slavery, he was emphatically right. Whether it was so hopelessly pro-slavery as he finally believed it to be is still another question. I confess that I lacked but little of being as hopeless as he; or, in other words, but little of identifying myself with his policy, and of going with him for the breaking up of the nation. Surely, it is better for a nation to be broken up than to continue to wield its mighty national powers to uphold a great crime. Surely, the English or the French nation had better be broken up than held together by the policy of putting to death every feeble-born child. That, however, were a small crime compared with the crime of crimes which stains our nation.

You and I have ceased from our anxieties about the abolition of slavery. We must not, however, accept too much credit for having done so. We could well afford to cease from them; for we saw an earnest and a mighty effort to save the country, and we knew that slavery had got such a fast and deadly hold of the throat of the nation, that the nation could not be saved without slavery was killed. Forty years ago, and a no less widely-extended rebellion could have been put down without putting down slavery. A flock of sheep may be saved, and the suckling-wolf which has got in among them be also saved; but let the wolf have a year's more growth, and either it or the sheep must die.

Please add to the funds of the Society the enclosed draft for fifty dollars. With great regard, your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

Mr. GARRISON then said—It will be recollected, that last year the Annual Meeting of the Society was omitted, and the Executive Committee deem it proper, therefore, to make a brief Statement on this occasion, rather than to present a series of resolutions, as we have usually done. I will read the Statement.

Statement of the Executive Committee.

FOR the first time since the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, its annual meeting was omitted one year ago, by the unanimous judgment of its Executive Committee, in order that, at so critical a period in the life of the nation, no opportunity should be given the domestic enemies of freedom to make a mobocratic outbreak, whereby the traitors of the South might be stimulated to a more vigorous prosecution of their nefarious designs, instead of being perplexed and confounded by beholding an undivided North in the maintenance of popular institutions. Now that the lines are distinctly drawn, and vast armies are in the field for the suppression of the rebellion, and all sympathy with the rebels is disavowed, this Society deems it advantageous to resume the observance of its Anniversary meetings in the usual manner.

However opposed it may have been either to the Constitution or the Union, in time past, the Society has countenanced no resort to violence, acted no factious part, adopted no illegal or unjustifiable measures, and presented no other than a moral issue in vindication of the sovereignty of God and the sacred rights of human nature, against provisions or agreements regarded by it as cruel, wicked, and utterly indefensible. It is the prerogative of all citizens, whether in an individual or organized capacity, to criticize all those laws and institutions for which they are responsible, or by which they are required to be governed, and especially that Constitution which is "the supreme law of the land." And it is equally their right and duty to testify against whatever they conscientiously believe to be at variance with the principles of justice and the claims of humanity, as embodied in the Constitution or enforced in any of the laws under it. Loyalty to God forbids their being dumb in such an exigency. Beyond this, the Society has never gone a hair's breadth. Hence, those who accuse it of having pursued an incendiary, unlawful, treasonable course, are guilty of calumny.

The Society was organized for the abolition of slavery by peaceful and moral instrumentalities: it has used no others. It professes to regard the act of making man the property of man as a flagrant sin against God, and the denial of all human rights, and the slave system as "the sum of all villanies." In this conviction, it is sustained by the verdict of the civilized world and the common instincts of mankind: it is, therefore, neither fanatical nor mad. The charge of fanaticism and madness applies to those who advocate or sanction slavery, not to those who plead for its immediate abolition. To be morally consistent, the Society could not but deplore and reprobate those compromises of the Constitution, admitted and carried out to the letter by the nation ever since its formation, by which fugitive slaves are permitted to be hunted and captured as freely in the free States as in the slave States—a slave representation is allowed in Congress, thereby greatly increasing the political power of a desperate and domineering Slave Oligarchy—and the National government is bound, in an emergency, to interfere with its military and naval power for the suppression of a slave insurrection. It is specially with reference to these universally recognized compromises—no matter in what phraseology they are expressed or concealed—that the Society was constrained to pronounce that instrument "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," and, consequently, to predict in due time that very overthrow which has now befallen it, through the treachery of those whom it was designed to conciliate and bind, and as the righteous retribution of Heaven.

It was neither a sacrifice of principle nor an abatement of its testimony, in this direction, on the part of this Society, to declare, as to the rebellion itself, that it was marked throughout by high-handed villany and the blackest perfidy; that the theory on which it was attempted to be justified was wild and preposterous, finding no countenance whatever in the Declaration of Independence, or in any rational theory of popular sovereignty; that its object was as diabolical as its measures were base and dastardly; and, therefore, that the National government, having done no wrong to the South, nor sought to exercise any unlawful power over it, was clearly in the right, and imperatively bound, by its constitutional obligations, to crush the rebellion, at whatever cost to slavery, the sole producing cause of the rebellion.

Of the fifteen slave States that were in the Union eighteen months ago, eleven are now in warlike rebellion, and confederated together for the overthrow of the government, and the establishment of an independent slaveholding empire. The other four are held in forcible allegiance only by the presence of vast armies upon their soil, drawn from the North, and whose withdrawal, even now, would be the signal for those States instantly to revolt, and to join the Southern Confederacy. The rebellion, therefore, virtually covers the whole slaveholding dominion, includes nearly every slaveholder, and has no other object than the preservation and indefinite extension of slavery, and the repudiation of all connection with free institutions. In one word, rebellion and slavery are synonymous and convertible terms. Whoever would see the rebellion effectually and speedily crushed out, must demand the immediate and total abolition of slavery by the government, as a measure equally necessary and lawful under the war power; and whoever is for guarding or prolonging the existence of slavery, on any pretext whatever, is directly aiding and protracting the rebellion. Traitors have no other claim upon the Constitution than to be hanged or shot. The traitors most deserving of this fate at the South are the slaveholders as a class, and with hardly an exception. They are the instigators, the leaders, the gigantic criminals, and upon their heads should fall an avalanche of retributive justice. Without them, and the bloody and oppressive system to which they madly cling, there had been no rebellion, but in all the South, as in all the North, there would have been the spirit of loyalty and the prevalence of peace. Bad as is the Constitution, in its admitted pro slavery compromises, it no longer answers the purposes or needs of this nefarious oligarchy; and, therefore, they trample it under their feet, and cease to claim any advantage or protection from it, for themselves or their "peculiar institution." By so doing, they not only vacate all their old constitutional rights, and uterly preclude all appeal in that direction, but place their whole slave system at the mercy of the government, which should have no mercy upon it, but instantly avail itself of this magnificent opportunity to smite it to the dust, and so in righteousness bring the rebellion to an end, and give peace and repose to our distracted and bleeding country.

Under these altered circumstances, slavery is no longer a Southern institution, but a national responsibility, for the further continuance of which, the government and people are to be held amenable before God and the world. On no consideration must they be permitted to evade the duty of the hour. Theirs is the right, theirs is the power, theirs is the sacred obligation to proclaim a jubilee to all who are pining in bondage in our land; and no device can be substituted for this, without involving them in blood-guiltiness. *If*, before the revolt and secession, they were not answerable for the existence of slavery at the South (though their complicity has been constant from the beginning), still, they can no longer avail themselves of such a plea. They stand as Pharaoh stood to the children of Israel, and can let the bondmen go free if they choose; and if they shall turn a deaf ear as he did, then other plagues shall assuredly scourge the land, and heavier judgments fall upon it. "Now is the accepted time, and now is the day of salvation."

To encourage, and strengthen the government in the performance of this legitimate and beneficent work, multitudes of petitions, signed by tens of thousands of the most intelligent and moral portion of the people of the North, have been forwarded to the present Congress, asking for a decree of universal emancipation. It cannot reasonably be doubted that such a decree would sweep through the rebellious South with irresistible power, and electrify with indescribable joy the entire North. Why should there be any doubt or delay? If there are no constitutional scruples against sacking the towns, ravaging the fields, and destroying the lives of the rebels of the South, why should there be any against transferring four million of slaves from the side of rebellion to that of the Union, the Constitution, the government, and breaking all their fetters? It will be an act not only of the highest political wisdom, but of transcendent glory and immortal renown to the Administration under which it is consummated. Then may the shout go up from the Atlantic to the Pacific, without cant or hypocrisy, "*Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!*"

This Society rejoice in those cheering signs of the times which indicate an increasing readiness on the part of the government and people to make slavery and the war terminate together. Among these are the act of Congress, prohibiting the return of fugitive slaves by any officers in the army or navy; the proposition for the recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia; the motion of Senator Wilson for a material change in the Fugitive Slave law, which will undoubtedly prevail; the proposition of Senator Sumner for the abolition of the inter-State slave trade; the treaty concluded for the suppression of the foreign slave trade between Great Britain and the United States; the recognition by the President of the incompatibility of slavery with the safety and permanence of the government, in his Message, recommending the abolition of the slave system in all the States, and proffering a generous coöperation on the part of the nation; the rising discussion of the question in the Border States; the restoration of Gen. Fremont to his command, in spite of the calumnies of his enemies, and notwithstanding his freedom-giving proclamation in Missouri; the growing disposition of the government to give succor and protection to all fugitive slaves coming under the flag, as evinced especially at Port Royal, and to employ them for their own and the general welfare; the orders of the Secretaries of the Army and Navy to arm at discretion the slaves coming within our lines; and, finally, the cleansing of the National District from all the pollutions of slavery, by the emancipation of every slave within its limits.

But, cheering as are all these signs, they do not lay the axe at the root of the poisonous tree, which ought to be cut down at once, and destroyed forever; nor do they seal up or exhaust the fountain whence these bloody waters of rebellion naturally flow forth, which are now deluging the land. The subjugation of the South by the armies of the North is not reconciliation, is not the re-formation of a broken Union, is not peace, while a single trafficker in human flesh finds legal protection, or a single slave is left to wear the yoke and clank the chain; and, therefore, in order that there may be an abiding peace, and a perfect Union, and a homogeneous people, and all-abounding prosperity from the Atlantic to the Pacific, this Society will earnestly continue to enforce the duty of IMMEDIATE AND UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

The reading of the "Statement" was listened to with earnest attention, interrupted only by the applause which some of its passages called forth, which was especially marked at the reference to FREMONT.

THE PRESIDENT—There are a great many people at the North who seem to be exceedingly troubled in regard to the disposal of the slaves when they shall be emancipated. What shall be done with them? they anxiously inquire. I am happy to introduce as the first speaker one who is abundantly qualified to give a full and complete answer to that question; for I take it that no one is so well qualified to speak upon that point as one who has himself been a chattel slave, and that we are to ask the slaves themselves what are their ideas of justice, and what they want at our hands, rather than undertake to dispose of them without any regard to their views or feelings whatever. There are two questions—What shall be done with the slaves if emancipated? and What shall be done with the slaveholders, whether the slaves are emancipated or not? My friend WM. WELLS BROWN will now, as one formerly a slave, answer those questions.

Speech of Wm. Wells Brown.

MR. PRESIDENT AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: For the last thirty years, the colored people have taken the greatest interest in the agitation of the abolition question, as carried on by this Society. We have watched with hope and fear as impediment after impediment has been thrown in the way of its progress. Among the many obstacles which have been brought to bear against emancipation, one of the most formidable has been the series of objections urged against it upon what has been supposed to be the slave's want of appreciation of liberty, and his ability to provide for himself in a state of freedom; and now that slavery seems to be near its end, these objections are multiplying, and the cry is heard all over the land, "What shall be done with the slave, if freed?" I propose to use the short time allowed me this morning in examining these phases of the question.

It has been clearly demonstrated, I think, that the enslaved of the South are as capable of self-support as any other class of people in the country. It is well known, that throughout the entire South, a large class of slaves have been for years accustomed to hire their time from their owners. Many of these have paid very high prices for the privilege. Some able mechanics have been known to pay as high as $600 per annum, besides providing themselves with food and clothing; and this class of slaves, by their industry, have taken care of themselves so well, and their appearance has been so respectable, that many of the States have passed laws prohibiting masters from letting their slaves out to themselves, because, as it was said, it made the slaves dissatisfied to see so many of their fellows well-provided, and accumulating something for themselves in the way of pocket-money. The Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, whose antecedents have not been such as to lead to the suspicion that he favors the free colored men or the idea of giving to the slaves their liberty, in his "Southside View," unconsciously and unintentionally gives a very valuable statement upon this particular point. Dr. Adams says:

"A slave woman, having had $300 stolen from her by a white man, her master was questioned in court as to the probability of her having had so much money. The master said that he not unfrequently had borrowed fifty and a hundred dollars from her himself, and added that she was always very strict as to his promised time of payment."

There was a slave woman who had not only kept every agreement with her master—paying him every cent she had promised—but had accumulated $300 toward purchasing her liberty, and it was stolen from her, not by a black man, but, as Dr. Adams says, by a white man.

But one of the clearest demonstrations of the ability of the slave to provide for himself in a state of freedom is to be found in the prosperous condition of the large free colored population of the Southern States. Maryland has 80,000, Virginia 70,000, and the other slave States have a large number. These free people have all been slaves, or they are the descendants of those who were once slaves; what they have gained has been acquired in spite of the public opinion and laws of the South, in spite of prejudice, and everything. They have acquired a large amount of property; and it is this industry, this sobriety, this intelligence, and this wealth of the free colored people of the South that has created so much prejudice on the part of slaveholders against them. They have felt that the very presence of a colored man, looking so genteelly and in such a prosperous condition, made the slaves unhappy and discontented. In the Southern Rights Convention which assembled at Baltimore, June 8th, 1860, a resolution was adopted, calling on the Legislature to pass a law driving the free colored people out of the State. Nearly every speaker, Mr. President, took the ground that the free colored people must be driven out to make the slave's obedience more secure. Judge Mason, in his speech, said, "It is the thrifty and well-to-do free negroes, that are seen by our slaves, that make them dissatisfied. A similar appeal was made to the Legislature of Tennessee. Judge Catron, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a long and able letter to *The Nashville Union*, opposed the driving out of the colored people. He said they were among the best mechanics, the best artisans, and the most industrious laborers in the State, and that to drive them out would be an injury to the State itself. This is certainly good evidence in their behalf.

The State of Arkansas passed a law driving the free colored people out of the State, and they were driven out, three years ago. The Democratic press howled upon the heels of the free blacks until they had all been expatriated; but after they had been driven out, *The Little Rock Gazette*—a Democratic paper—made a candid acknowledgment with regard to the character of the free colored people. It said:

"Most of the exiled free negroes are industrious and respectable. One of them, Henry King, we have known from our boyhood, and take the greatest pleasure in testifying to his good character. The community in which he casts his lot will be blessed with that noblest work of God, an honest man."

Yet these free colored people were driven out of the State, and those who were unable to go, as many of the women and children were, were reduced to slavery, and there they are toiling in chains and slavery to-day.

The New Orleans *True Delta* opposed the passage of a similar law by the State of Louisiana. Among other things, it said:

"There are a large free colored population here, correct in their general deportment, honorable in their intercourse with society, and free from reproach so far as the laws are concerned, not surpassed in the inoffensiveness of their lives by any equal number of persons, in any place North or South."

That I consider testimony of real value. I produce this, Mr. Chairman, because there is nothing entitled to greater weight on this point than the testimony of the people of the slave States themselves.

Dr. Nehemiah Adams, whom I have already quoted, also testifies to the good character of the free colored people; but he does it unintentionally; it was not a part of the programme; how it slipped in I cannot tell. Here it is, however, from page 41 of his "Southside View":

"A prosecuting officer, who had six or eight Counties in his district, told me that, during eight years of service, he had made out about two thousand bills of indictment, of which not more than twelve were against colored persons" (applause).

Hatred of the free colored people, and abuse of them, have always been popular with the pro-slavery people of this country; yet, an American Senator, from one of the Western States—a man who never lost an opportunity to villify and traduce the colored man, and who, in his last canvass for a seat in the United States Senate, argued that the slaves were better off in slavery than they would be if set free, and declared that the blacks were unable to take care of themselves, while enjoying liberty—died, a short time since, $12,000 in debt to a black man, who was the descendant of a slave (applause). Thus, those who have fattened upon us, often turn round and traduce us. Reputation is, indeed, dear to every nation and race, but to us, the colored people of this country, who have so many obstacles to surmount, it is doubly dear.

"Who steals my purse, steals trash;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
But he who filches from me my good name,
Robs me of that which ne'er enriches him,
And makes me poor indeed." (Applause.)

In the District of Columbia, since the abolition of slavery, it is found that, according to their numbers, the larger proportion of the property-holders are among the negroes. Figures, though we are told that they very often lie, are sometimes found to tell the truth. The Tammany Hall Young Men's Democratic Committee of the city of New York, on the 13th of March, 1862, passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we are opposed to emancipating negro slaves, unless on some plan of colonization, in order that they may not come in contact with the white man's labor."

Now, Mr. President, this resolution is based upon the supposition that the slaves, if freed, will all flock to the North; and that is a very popular cry with the pro-slavery people of the free States, because they know that nothing would be so effective to the accomplishment of their ends as to make the laboring whites of the North believe that they will be overrun by the negroes if slavery is abolished. Now, I hold to the right of the black man, whether liberated or not, to go where he pleases, to make himself a home in any part of the country he chooses; but I do not believe that, if slavery is abolished, the slaves will flock into the free States. I do not believe it, because I have a reason for not believing it. Look at the large free colored population in the slave States! See how odious are the laws they live under! See how cruelly they have been oppressed! Why, the State of Virginia long had a law on her statute-books, and has now, unless it has been very recently repealed, taxing the free colored people one dollar per head, over and above any other class in the community, by which the State of Virginia put into her treasury, in one year, $50,000, taken from the colored people. Maryland had a similar law. The Gulf States have been still more severe on this class of their population, and yet the free colored people have remained in the Southern States. Why did they not come North? Because they were unwilling to leave the congenial climate of the sunny South for the snowy hills of the rugged North; and, where you have found ten colored persons coming from the South to the North, nine out of the ten have been fugitive slaves, flying from the South because they could not enjoy liberty there, not the free colored people, who had the right to go off if they chose. Now, Mr. President, what has kept the free colored people in the Southern States will prevent the slaves coming here if slavery is abolished.

But we are told that the contrabands are flocking, even now, into Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania Legislature has been petitioned, by the working people of Philadelphia and other cities, to pass a law prohibiting their settling in that State. Illinois has already passed such a law. Ohio either has, or is trying to do so. But you must expect that the slave, running away now, will seek to get beyond the Border slave States. His liberty is in doubt; we have had Generals who have sent slaves back; and, after getting out of his master's hands, his first thought is to get further North, where his liberty is secure. If you were there, and in his position, you would take the same course the contraband takes now. He feels precisely as he did before the commencement of the rebellion; he wants to get out of the way. But if you want to stop the contraband from coming into the free States, if you want to stop the slave's running off from the South, give him his freedom upon the soil (loud applause). The Tammany Hall Committee is opposed to abolition, unless expatriation shall follow it. The first Napoleon was waited upon by a Committee of the old planters of St. Domingo, urging him to send an army to Hayti to reduce the emancipated slaves again to chains. After the Committee had withdrawn, Napoleon turned to Gregoire, and asked him what he thought of the advice. The latter replied: "If those planters should change their color to-night, they would come back to-morrow and give your Majesty different advice." So it would be, Mr. President, with the Young Men's Democratic Committee of New York (applause).

Now, everything has shown that the slave can be trusted in slavery, except when he can get a chance to use his heels, for the slaveholders themselves have testified to his good character. You know we were told by the slaveholders, just before the breaking out of the rebellion, that if we got into any difficulty with the South their slaves would take up arms, and fight to a man for them. Mr. Toombs, I believe, threatened that he would arm his slaves, and other men in Congress from the slave States made the same threat. They were going to arm the slaves, and turn them against the North. They said they could be trusted, and many people here at the North really believed that the slave did not want his liberty, would not have it if he could, and that the slave population was a very dangerous element against the North; but at once, Mr. President, on the approach of our soldiers, the slaves are seen, with their bundles and baskets, and hats and coats, and without bundles or baskets, and without hats or coats, rushing to our lines; demonstrating what we have so often said, that all the slave was waiting for was the opportunity to get his liberty. Why should you not have believed this? Why should you have supposed for a moment, that, because a man's color differs a little from yours, he is better contented to remain a slave than you would be, or that he has no inclination, no wish, to escape from the thraldom that holds him so tight? What is it that does not wish to be free?

"Go, let a cage with grates of gold,
And pearly roof, the eagle hold,
Let dainty viands be its fare,
And give the captive tenderest care.
But say, in luxury's limits pent,
Find you the king of birds content?
No, oft he'll sound the startling shriek
And dash the cage with angry beak;
Precarious freedom's far more dear
Than all the prison's pampering cheer."

As with the eagle, so with man. He loves to look upon the bright day and the stormy night; to gaze upon the broad free ocean, its eternal surging tides, its mountain billows and its foam-crested waves; to tread the steep mountain side; to sail upon the placid river; to wander along the gurgling stream, to trace the sunny slope, the beautiful landscape, the majestic forest, the flowery meadow; to listen to the howling of the winds and the music of the birds. These are the aspirations of man, without regard to country, clime, or color (loud applause).

What shall we do with the slave of the South? "Expatriate him," say the haters of the negro. Expatriate him for what? He has cleared up the swamps of the South, and has put the soil under cultivation; he has built up her towns and cities and villages; he has enriched the North and Europe with his cotton and sugar and rice; and for this, you would drive him out of the country. "What shall be done with the slaves if they are freed?" You had better ask, "What shall we do with the slaveholders, if the slaves are freed?" (Applause.) The slave has shown himself better fitted to take care of himself than the slaveholder (renewed applause). He is the bone and sinew of the South; he is the producer, while the master is nothing but a consumer, and a very poor consumer at that (laughter). The slave is the producer, and he alone can be relied upon. He has the sinew, the determination, and the will; and if you will take the free colored people of the South as the criterion, take their past history as a sample of what the colored people are capable of doing, every one must be satisfied that the slaves can take care of themselves.

But it is said, "The two races cannot live together in a state of freedom." Why, that is the cry that rung all over England twenty years ago—"If you liberate the slaves of the West Indies, they can't live with the whites in a state of freedom." Twenty years have shown the contrary. The blacks and the whites live together in Jamaica; they are all prosperous, and the island in a better condition than it ever was before the act of emancipation was passed.

But they tell us, "If the slaves are emancipated, we won't receive them upon an equality." Why, every man must make equality for himself. No society, no government, can make this equality. I do not expect the slave of the South to jump into equality; all I claim for him is, that he may be allowed to jump into liberty, and let him make equality for himself (loud applause). I have got some white neighbors around me; they are not very intellectual; they don't associate with my family (laughter and applause); but whenever they shall improve themselves, and bring themselves up by their own intellectual and moral worth, I shall not object to their coming into my society (renewed merriment).

Now, Mr. Chairman, this talk about not letting a man come to this place or that, and that we won't do this for him, or won't do that for him, is all idle. The anti-slavery agitators have never demanded that you shall take the colored man, any more than that you shall take the uncultivated and uncouth white man, and place him in a certain position in society. All I demand for the black man is, that the white people shall take their heels off his neck, and let him have a chance to rise by his own efforts (applause). One of the first things that I heard when I arrived in the free States—and it was the strangest thing to me that I heard—was, that the slaves cannot take care of themselves. I came off without any education. Society did not take me up; I took myself up (laughter). I did not ask society to take me up. All I asked of the white people was, to get out of the way, and give me a chance to come from the South to the North. That was all I asked, and I went to work with my own hands. And that is all I demand for my brethren of the South to-day—that they shall have an opportunity to exercise their own physical and mental abilities. Give them that, and I will leave the slaves to take care of themselves, and be satisfied with the result.

Now, Mr. President, I think that the present contest has shown clearly that the fidelity of the black people of this country to the cause of freedom is enough to put to shame every white man in the land who would think of driving us out of the country, provided freedom should be proclaimed. I remember well, when Mr. Lincoln's proclamation went forth calling for the first 75,000 men, that among the first to respond to that call were the colored men. A meeting was held in Boston, crowded as I never saw a meeting before; meetings were held in Rhode Island and Connecticut, in New York and Philadelphia, and throughout the West, responding to the President's call. Although the colored men in many of the free States were disfranchised, abused, taxed without representation, their children turned out of the schools, nevertheless they went on, determined to try to discharge their duty to the country, and to save it from the tyrannical power of the slaveholders of the South. But the cry went forth—"We won't have the niggers; we won't have anything to do with them; we won't fight with them; we won't have them in the army, nor about us." Yet scarcely had you got into conflict with the South, when you were glad to receive the news that contrabands brought (applause). The first telegram announcing any news from the disaffected district commences with—"A contraband just in from Maryland tells us" so much. The last telegram, in to-day's paper, announces that a contraband tells us so much about Jefferson Davis and Mrs. Davis and the little Davises (laughter). The nation is glad to receive the news from the contraband. We have an old law with regard to the mails, that a negro shall not touch the mails at all and for forty years, the black man has not had the privilege of touching the mails of the United States with his little finger; but we are glad enough now to have the negro bring the mail in his pocket. The first thing asked of the contraband is—"Have you got a newspaper?—what's the news?" And the news is greedily taken in, from the lowest officer or soldier in the army up to the Secretary of War. They have tried to keep the negro out of the war, but they could not keep him out, and now they drag him in, with his news, and are glad to do so. Gen. Wool says the contrabands have brought the most reliable news. Other Generals say their information can be relied upon. The negro is taken as a pilot, to guide the fleet of Gen. Burnside through the inlets of the South (applause). The black man welcomes your armies and your fleets, takes care of your sick, is ready to do anything, from cooking up to shouldering a musket; and yet these would-be patriots and professed lovers of the land talk about driving the negro out!

Now, what shall you do with the slaveholders? That is the other question. The only recommendation I have to make in regard to that is, that you shall take the slave from the slaveholder, and let the slaveholder go to work and labor for himself, and let him keep out of mischief (applause). If the slaveholders had had the opportunity of laboring for themselves, for the last forty years, we should never have had this rebellion. It is because they have had nothing to do but drink and walk about and concoct mischief, while the black man was toiling for their support, that this rebellion has taken place.

Mr. President, I must bring my remarks to a close. This nation owes the colored people a great debt. You, the people of New York, owe us a great debt. You have kept us down, helped to degrade us, by your odious laws—the fugitive slave enactments, and others—you have loved to keep us in chains, while the slaveholders have deprived us of our liberty and everything; and now the time has come for you to do your duty in this matter. You see that this has affected you, as well as it has affected the black man, North and South; and now the world is looking on, expecting that your duty to the negro, to the cause of freedom, will be performed; and the moral sentiment of the world will hold the American people accountable if this war shall close and the negro be still left weltering in his blood and chains. There is no mistake about it, the time has come for the nation to discharge its duty to the black man. Now is the time; and I hope the nation will have the moral courage to perform its duty. That the slave will have his liberty I have not the slightest doubt. These black men in the slave States, whom Jefferson Davis and Beauregard have been teaching the science of arms, on the one hand, and the contrabands at Port Royal and Fortress Monroe, to whom your men and women have been teaching the science of letters, on the other hand, have implanted in the black man's bosom in the Southern States that which will ultimately give him his liberty, if you do not give it to him (applause). I am confident that the tree of Liberty has been planted. If it was not planted by this Society, Mr. President, it has been planted by the rebellion of the South, and it is growing—it is growing, and its branches are overshadowing the land; and, in the language of the poet, we may say:

"Our plant is of the cedar,
That knoweth not decay;
Its growth shall bless the mountain,
Till mountains pass away;
Its top shall greet the sunshine,
Its leaves shall drink the rain,
While on its lower branches
The slave shall hang his chain."

(Loud and prolonged applause.)

The meeting was subsequently addressed by THEODORE TILTON, Rev. ROBERT M. HATFIELD (of the M. E. Church), and WENDELL PHILLIPS; but we are compelled to defer our report of their remarks till next week.

In the evening, the Society met at the Cooper Institute—Dr. CHEEVER being the first speaker. We are permitted to print the more important parts of his address as prepared by his own hand.

Speech of Dr. Cheever.

IT is with mingled emotions of joy and fear that we meet to address, to congratulate, and consult each other. It is with a sense of our dependence upon God, and our obligations of gratitude to Him, produced, inevitably, by His wonderful providential dealings in our behalf. Never was any nation seen, so guilty before God, passing through such an ordeal of His saving discipline and mercy. Our responsibilities and duties are commensurate with God's goodness and our opportunities; and God, in granting us such victories over our enemies, the tyrants of the Slave Oligarchy and rebellion, has set a power and opportunity of moral good and grandeur at our disposal, the gaining of which, if we will but rightly use it, would have been worth centuries of suffering and trial.

Emancipation in the District of Columbia is the greatest of all our victories thus far. It is the knocking away of the first block, for the launch of national freedom; all side issues will be carried off in a sweep, the moment the great universal enterprise is started, and all difficulties will be cleared away, as easily as the chips and loose timbers at the side of a great frigate are flung off, when she glides from her scaffolding into her native element. One might think it impossible, looking at a huge ship upon the stocks, that ever such a bulk of wood and iron could be carried from the earth and set floating in the ocean. All the winds under the great concave could not move her; but when the master workman gives the word and strikes the blow, she sweeps majestically into her intended sphere, and then and there the grand structure, that was so long in building, and that all the shoulders under the government could not have moved an inch, is wafted as easily as a bright cloud by the breezes, obeys the slightest movement of her helm, floats like a swan upon the water, and is almost a spontaneous living intelligence. Thus easily and gracefully will the great ship of national Emancipation glide upon her course when the word of command is once given; and the most ignorant and prejudiced land-lubbers will break with the whole nation into a shout of hallelujas, when she spreads her canvas to the breeze.

The victory of Emancipation in the District of Columbia is worth all the expense and misery of the whole rebellion and war thus far. We could not have gained it but at this price. The nation would not have performed even this just act of righteousness, but for these judgments of God. Had this act of justice been performed at the outset, and given the moral and martial key-note of the national anthem, the rebellion would have been played out, and the war at an end, long ere this! But until the rebellion itself, every movement in our country was pro-slavery. Just before this uprising of the rebels against the government and nation, it was voted that the government and nation itself should amend the Constitution in behalf of slavery, thus forestalling the rebellion by enthroning its element. Had the rebel movement stopped then and there, we should have proceeded to the most perfect despotism the world ever saw. We should never have seen, in our day, the beginning of emancipation. Had the Senators and Representatives from the South, whose places were vacated by secession (thus providentially giving opportunity for a preponderance of voters in behalf of freedom when the question should be tried), been brought back into their places, by compromise and amendment of our ways in behalf of their idol, there never could have been obtained leave so much as to consider the question of a bill for the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia, nor indeed anywhere, nor on any conditions. This grand moral victory, therefore, is the result solely of the wonderfully merciful interposition of God on our behalf, through the madness of our enemies, to save us both from them and from ourselves. It is a purely providential salvation. God has held us back from national suicide, from following the rebels in their plunge, and is saving us, in spite of our politics, in spite of our religion, in spite of ministers, Churches, merchants, lawyers, in spite of the demon that had got possession of us, and was crying out to be let alone, and raving and tearing at every attempt to cast him out by agitation, especially by the application of the gospel. And now we ought to be found sitting and clothed and in our right mind at the feet of Jesus, and asking Him in gratitude for this deliverance, Lord, what wilt thou have us to do?

The answer is, Deliver others, as I have delivered you. Go to Decapolis and preach, as well as fight, deliverance to the captives, as well as submission of the rebels. Break every yoke. As God hath broken your bands in sunder, and saved you from utter ruin in the prevalence of slavery, so now set free the victims of that tyranny. This was the very motive and the mode, in which, after the deliverance of the colonies from British rule, and the establishment of our independence, emancipation was immediately declared and accomplished for the slaves in the great State of Pennsylvania, under the guidance of Franklin, and with the declaration to all the world that this act of humanity and justice to others was prompted and performed out of gratitude to God for our own national deliverance, and out of the conviction and acknowledgment that the withholding from others of the boon of freedom for which we had been contending for ourselves, and which God had mercifully granted, would be an iniquity so vast, a return for God's mercy so monstrous, that we could not possibly be prospered, or suffered to go on, in a career of such cruelty.

But the question with us has gone terribly beyond that of mere emancipation. The question now with us, the slaves being in fact free by virtue of the rebellion, and thrown upon us as free persons by virtue of our claim to their allegiance, our right over them as a government, our right to forbid them joining the rebellion, or belonging to it, and our obligation of protecting them in their rights and in their allegiance—the question is not, Shall we emancipate them? but, Shall we reënslave them? Shall we reconstruct slavery, and, meantime, hold the slaves in reserve as the material of such reconstruction?

Shall we reconstruct and enthrone this terrible tyranny, by United States power and authority? Shall we take these millions of bondsmen, whose swarthy forms we see in the sides of the pit, climbing to its verge, and just on the point of a complete deliverance, and shall we, whom God is blessing with victories, that enable us at a word to set them all at liberty, fling them back into the hell of slavery, and shut down upon them again the lid of their living sepulchre, and in the sight of all the nations jump upon it with our armies to hold it down, in the name of God and the Constitution? This is the question, Shall we commit this great wickedness? If we do not take care, it is already being committed, and will be finished before we are aware of it.

There are some two or three things that we desire to have secured, must have them, or all the benefit of the rebellion and war will have been lost, and all its expenses and miseries encountered and borne in vain.

1. We are not willing to degrade a noble action, by performing it only as a sheer necessity. It is no longer noble, so done; no longer noble, if it is mere selfishness, or fear of punishment and ruin. We are not willing to lose the moral grandeur of emancipation as an act of justice and mercy, put within our power, and performed on the grounds of justice.

2. Especially, we are not willing to say to the world that the nature of our government prevents the possibility of justice, that we have no constitutional right or authority to be just or to act just, but only under the war power, that we must wait for a state of war before we can be released from a constitutional and governmental obligation to act as merciless savages, that we must wait for a state of war before we can exercise the virtues of peace, the rights of common humanity, the duties of benevolence, that before we can fulfil the claims of justice we must be released from the prior obligations of injustice. We desire the doing of justice in the liberation of the slaves to be put to the credit of a power of justice inherent in our government in its very nature, and not a war adventure merely, nor merely a divine providence that we have seized hold of for the opportunity of doing what was not ours by right, what the divine word, or government ordained of God would have forbidden, or what a previous compact with Satan forbade. We do not wish to skulk into emancipation, but to come to it as an open right and duty.

This plea of inability to do good has been the standing disgrace of our government and nation. The ground on which it has been offered was an exasperation of the mischief; for whether we take it, as assumed by some, that slavery is a part of the Constitution, or by others, that it guarantees the country against any interference with it, in either case the plea of inability is a confession of complicity: for whose is the Constitution, and what, as a frame of government, is the Constitution bound to be? And it stands recorded in history that our government and people were ready and willing to alter the Constitution in favor of slavery, and of course possessed the same power to execute it against slavery. But at length, in the providence of God, the plea of inability has been taken away by the rebellion, in such manner, that those who denied the power of executing justice for the sake of others, have acknowledged that for our own sake, as a necessity of our own interests, we might be just: that although the power of suppressing slavery and delivering the slaves had not been delegated to us, and as an exercise of justice and benevolence did not belong to us, but was interdicted by our Constitution, yet it might be brought in under the war power, and we being once at war to crush the rebellion, even an act of direct justice and mercy might be possible, might be permitted, not indeed as justice or mercy, but as an expediency or necessity for ourselves. If it became absolutely necessary to our own existence, then we might so far violate the Constitution as to do justly, because, in that case, it would be relieved of the character of justice towards the enslaved, and would not in fact be such an act, but simply an act of necessity for ourselves, and therefore quite as proper as any other war measure, as a last resort. On this ground alone has it been possible to inure the country to the contemplation of the possibility of emancipating the slaves in the rebel States. The claim of justice has been renounced and rejected, and steadily met by the denial of constitutional power. But the claim of the rebellion for ourselves has been admitted. It is a most wonderful instance of God's mercy in drawing us away from our sins by our very selfishness; or rather, making our very selfishness the means of that deliverance of its victims, whom we would not willingly let go. The rebellion is a bridge that God has built for the nation to pass over to abolitionism. The nation intended, in this war, to crush the rebellion, and nothing else. God has made the rebellion a trap whereby the nation is caught in the very act of abolition. We did not mean the virtue, we had no intention of any such performance. Our government at an early period instructed the world that it was intended by the war to restore all things, and the relations of all persons, as before the rebellion. And up to the present hour all design of interfering with slavery is solemnly denied, and the imputation of any such intention has been gravely demonstrated as a slander. Non-interference was our platform, the refusal and denial of all action against slavery; but God has taken us, platform and all, and precipitated us into this action. The virtue was the farthest possible from our thoughts, therefore you will pardon us the virtue, since it was no part of our intention. We intended to decapitate abolitionism, but God has swung the axe against slavery, and it is not our fault. We declare before the world our innocence of any intention whatever against slavery.

The poet Cowper says truly that glory built on selfish principles is shame and guilt. And what shall be said of our pretence to magnanimity and virtue, our claim before the world that we are fighting for freedom, when, after ten months continuance of the war against a rebellion inaugurated and maintained solely for the support of slavery, we declare that we will not put down slavery, if we can crush the rebellion in any other way? If we can put down the rebellion without striking at slavery, we will let slavery live. We threaten to strike at it, threaten to emancipate, only in the hope that by the threat we may be spared the necessity of executing it. We put the destruction of slavery before the rebellious States as equivalent with their ruin, and we say that if such ruin becomes a necessity for the success of the war to crush the rebellion, we shall let it fall, we shall no longer prevent it, but if they will submit, and come back into the Union, they may keep their slavery, we will not bring upon them the ruin consequent upon emancipation.

When this is the manner in which the first proposition of emancipation is introduced, and these are the grounds on which its possibility is based, it is degraded from the quality of justice and virtue to that of selfishness. All the glory is taken from it, and it becomes a mere cunning stratagem, a reserved card in the hands of political gamblers. A man should be ashamed who attempts to take any praise for it. An American must blush for praises so bestowed. Our rulers prevent the possibility of congratulation, when they thus proclaim to all the world that they would not, from principle, nor justice, nor mercy, have broken the chains from the enslaved, but have always opposed this fanaticism. To applaud a government for administering justice only on compulsion, is to defraud virtue, encourage villany and set a premium on injustice and tyranny. What shall be said of such statesmen?

"Forced into justice, overawed by fear,
And praised for virtues that they scorn to wear."

3. But some say, professed friends of emancipation, Let that question alone for the present, until after the war. At present the only duty of Christian patriotism is to fight, and God will take care of slavery. We have nothing to do with slavery where it is, or with the slaves where they are, but merely to crush the rebellion. Let slavery curse, if it will, all we have to say is, no more slave territory. "What territory it now has, slavery may keep and curse, if it will; but it shall snatch no more. And what it has, we will hem in closer and closer with free soil tilled by free men, till it shall be like the scorpion begirt with fire. This is all we ask for. Slavery we denounce as a cruel wrong to the black man, and a fatal cancer eating its way to the vitals of the white man. As a local institution, destined eventually to be uprooted and disappear, we can give it tolerance."

These dreadful sentiments are uttered at the close of a whole year of the rebellion and war, and if this be the Christian conservatism of the North, what hope of redemption is there for us?

Others join in with this terribly selfish and heaven-defying counsel and say, Slavery is sure to die out. Let it take its time. Let us not trouble ourselves about it. What signifies it, if a few scores of years be added to its existence, so long as we keep it from extending? Suppose we let it live on for fifty years, if that is God's will, we ought to be submissive to God, we ought not to interfere with God's providence.

Are there no claims upon us from God, in behalf of the present race of slaves? Even if we could be sure of slavery dying out, how horrible the thought of deliberately sacrificing a whole generation and race of four millions in all its tortures as a duty of Christian tolerance! We insist upon the immediate emancipation of the present race and generation as our only duty, without the performance of which indeed, we deliberately enslave those whom the providence of God has cast upon us as freemen.

We should be glad, if it so pleased God, to have every one of these waiters on providence, and all their families, put into the very condition of slavery, just as it is and where it is, the continuance of which they so serenely and piously contemplate for others, and to have them work out, in their own persons, and in the personal slavery of their wives and children the remainder of the experiment, work out and test the dying out of slavery upon themselves. It would be very instructive to see whether the same pious resignation which they exercise for others in this torture, would be a grace for themselves; whether in that case they would object, as they now do, to any agitation of the subject; whether they would send in petitions imploring us to crush rebellion and leave slavery to take care of itself, and imploring Congress to let the condition of the slaves alone, and restrict themselves to their proper business, and demanding of the whole country to leave the question of emancipation to be settled after the war. We should like them to have the opportunity to exercise all this quietism and resignation in reference to themselves.

On one occasion, many years ago, I remember, when the British Empire was in a ferment in regard to the Irish and their asserted wrongs, and the question was asked in Parliament, What shall we do with Ireland? a member replied, Scuttle her! This is the amount of the cool, hardened cruelty proposed in regard to the colored race of the United States. Slough them off! Expatriate them! Scuttle them! Colonize them! Keep the slaves where they are, and guarantee the vested rights of the slave States in them as property, and at the same time expatriate all the free negroes, and keep both slaves and free out of the territories. Leave slavery where it is, and keep it where it is, sending back all fugitives, and maintaining it by law as a domestic institution. Shut it up in the slave States, and it will die out, but promise not to interfere with it there, directly or indirectly. In these promises and propositions the most distant idea of any right to freedom on the part of the enslaved, or any obligations of justice or of mercy on our part towards them, or any assertion of their rights, or any attempt to redeem and deliver them, is as completely ignored, and in effect denied and forbidden, as if they were serfs in Siberia. The barbarous inhumanity of these propositions, towards whites as well as blacks, if slavery be considered a wrong and an evil, can hardly be described or appreciated. Suppose that a deadly pestilence were raging in some part of our country, and instead of sending physicians, medicines, nurses, aid, suppose we should dig a vast moat round the whole region, and leave the victims of the pestilence to die, and the land to be depopulated. Suppose that a slow fire were raging in a great city, and there being a powder magazine or manufactory within its limits, suppose that the proprietors of the outlying surrounding farms and villages should cut off all communication and stand afar off and see the city burn, meantime driving back within its walls all that endeavored to escape from it. Suppose that the country should denounce all other action excepting only this as unconstitutional. Suppose the country should, in the name of God and the Constitution, solemnly pledge themselves not to interfere in any way whatever, directly or indirectly, with the pestilence and the conflagration where they were raging; but on the other hand to guarantee the security and perpetuity of the evil and the mischief, as a vested right not to be meddled with or infringed upon!

If such be the policy to be proclaimed and pursued in regard to the crime and pestilence of slavery, it is diabolical, and the more so, because the pretence is, that, by such a policy, you ensure the termination of the evil. But in what way? Is this a Christian remedy? Is this the command of mercy that comes to you from the Word of God, or of justice from the Holy Majesty of heaven? The evil, you say, will die out, if you can only secure the country against its extension. The evil will die out, if you only prevent any more slave States from being established. Restrict, therefore, your policy of reform, your Christianity, your benevolence, to that. Let the present race of slaves alone in their misery, and of slaveholders alone in their iniquity, and glory, and pride. The evil will die out; slavery cannot live, if you shut it up where it is now rioting in the morals and miseries of the millions beneath its despotism. And this is your remedy, is it, as a Christian man and a brother, commanded to love your neighbor as yourself? This is the proposition of Christian reformers, to let slavery die out among its rotting, dying, imploring victims! To let it die out, by letting it work on, in all its atrocity and cruelty, as a guaranteed, constitutional Gehenna, marked off, lined off, moated off, environed, amidst surrounding spectators and givers of mercy and justice, that might extinguish its furies if they would move upon it, might scatter the fuel of its perdition, and rescue its millions of burning men, women and children, as brands from the burning, by the legitimate power of the Gospel of God and the Constitution that assures life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to every creature! Spectators, sovereigns, angels of the Churches and leaders of the States, that might, by obligation of justice, have delivered all these victims, hasten to renew and extend the period of their misery!

4. But again, we desire to take the opportunity given us of God, we are bound to take it, for restoring our Constitution itself from its bondage under the slave despotism to its own inalienable freedom, its own law of freedom, its own right working under a righteous interpretation.

We cannot be free, ourselves, if we accept slavery as imposed upon others to be an obligation of our government or Constitution. All the lessons of history correspond in affirming God's warning: If ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own? Both the Pagan and the Christian centuries utter this voice. And they tell us that our morality can rise no higher than its fountain.

You cannot be free, and worship an instrument or altar that enshrines slavery as a god. You will be no better than the god of your worship, your affections; you may be worse, but you cannot be better. You cannot be free, unless the Constitution that you have chosen is free. That it is free, you have proved beyond possibility of contradiction, by the attempt to amend it in behalf of slavery, and the rebellion of the pro-slavery States against it, and the attempt yourselves to amend it in behalf of slavery in order to conciliate them. This proved at once our debasement and departure from the law of freedom in our Constitution, and the reality and efficacy of that original law. Slavery is in the Constitution only by violation of its spirit and law, and by torture and misinterpretation of particular articles. God hath not cast off his inheritance, the first-born of his providence, for the political regeneration and salvation of the world, but the violation of it he does cast off. Now, let judgment return unto righteousness, and all the upright in heart will follow it. Let our Constitution be interpreted by freedom and justice, its known object and law, and its only work will be salvation. It has been a locomotive that pro-slavery judges have engineered, at the whistle of pro-slavery Presidents; but the slavery has not been in the engine, but in its Satanic rider.

Are we, as Americans, to submit to the monstrous charge of having, legitimately, no power or right of justice and liberty in our government, no right of protection for freedom, and preference of it above slavery? Are we willing to confess to the world that we cannot, dare not, make freedom our direct object, but must go sneakingly at work, as if we had to circumvent our own Constitution, and overleap our rightful powers in order to do a noble and rightful action? Are we to confess such shame before the whole world, that we must violate our Constitution in order to bestow and defend the right of freedom? that we must wait for a state of war, to release us from our constitutional obligation, in order to be able to break the chains from a single bondman? What a picture of republicanism is this to present to the gazing nations. If this is the demonstration brought out by this rebellion, of the nature of our government, our institutions, the nations may well say, God preserve us from such an impotent monstrosity. But this is a slander, and God gives us the opportunity of proving it, in the play of the freedom-power of our Constitution. It is an intolerable reproach to admit that it has any other power than that of freedom and justice, any other law than that of government as ordained of God. Let it work as it ought, and as itself pledges, according to its sole announced purpose, and nothing but freedom and justice will be found permitted by it. But its torture, its perversion will remain, the most remarkable example in all history of the power of unrighteous precedents, when accepted in place of the law, when allowed to overlay the law, and constitute the rule of its interpretation. As when the Inquisition was conquered, and its dungeons thrown open, and its prisoners set free, the instruments and records of torture were preserved for the horror of mankind, so will it be when our Constitution is delivered from its enemies, and the victims of its long-continued perversions are released; the methods of torture applied to it as well to them, will be pondered with astonishment. We shall have a Tower of these judical, ecclesiastical, political and social curiosities of lying and of cruelty. It will come to pass that neither slavery nor oppression will be discoverable in our Constitution, but only in the admission, by government and people, of the slave codes of the slaveholding States as the rule of interpretation for the Constitution. Without any change, any amendment in the Constitution, for none is needed, if the people will but let its principles of freedom work, it will be seen to be a Constitution for a free people, and not for slaves, nor for slaveholders.

The taking possession of the rebel country by our government, and the governing of it by our government, involves, inevitably, the freedom of every individual thus governed; for the government of the United States cannot hold slaves. But the taking of them from under the authority of rebels, and from under the government of rebel States, even for a moment, is the holding and governing of them by our government, and consequently the freeing of them. For our government cannot know or recognize slaves, as slaves, nor even recognize the relation of slavery, nor even that of service due, unless the person claimed as owing service is a fugitive from one State into another State. The slaves in all rebeldom are therefore free, even without being fugitives within the definition of the law; and not being fugitives, cannot be regarded by our government, or any of our commanders, as slaves, without actually reënslaving them. Nor is there any right or authority, on the part of any of our Generals, to inquire who were their masters, or to recognize any human beings as their owners, or any evidence whatever, nor indeed to recognize as a possibility any such thing as the ownership of human beings as property.

Hence the President may well say that all slaves coming within the American lines, and claiming protection are free, and that he would rather abdicate than have them reënslaved. Let him put this position into practice, and as Commander-in-Chief forbid our Generals and soldiers from regarding the slaves any more as slaves, and command them to treat them as freemen, and according to the act of Congress to protect them, and never more deliver them up as fugitives. Let him nullify and quash the proclamations of our pro-slavery Generals, who have declared that the slaves are to be still held as slaves and returned to those who claim them. Let him forbid the assumption, by any of our Generals, of their being slaves, as a crime essentially equivalent to kidnapping, and if any officer, though covered all over with epaulettes and stars, and still more elevated with the glory of victory, dares to return one of these poor creatures into slavery, let his epaulettes and stars be stripped from him, and let the utmost penalty of the law against kidnapping be executed upon him. Yea, let it executed as impartially upon the General who kidnaps in America, as the poor miserable slave-captain who steals human beings on the coast of Africa. Within the American lines, or out of them, seeking our protection, or violently prevented from seeking it, by the power of the rebels, the slaves, by virtue of the rebellion, and by virtue of the consequent reversion of the rebel States under sole authority and power of the United States government, and by virtue of the armed possession and government of those States by Congress, are all equally and inevitably free, for otherwise our government has no authority over them. Otherwise, our government can govern them only through the intervention and by the authority of the rebels themselves, and only through the acknowledgment and obedience of the rebel slave code and slave laws, adopted and sanctioned by our government for that purpose. If the slaves are held by our government, or regarded as slaves, pronounced and reserved for future disposal as slaves, it is the acknowledgment of a power within and yet outside of and superior to our government, the acknowledgment of a power within the rebellion, and a right held by the rebels, above which, outside of which, or over which, our government has no authority, but which continues and must continue, as a higher law, as undisturbed in its supremacy by all the crimes and treason of the rebellion, as the law of gravitation, or the harmony of the solar system, by the aberrations of the comets in their spheres.

The people of the North will be slow to acknowledge such a law, and such an essence of inviolability and sacredness in this rebellion, by which the very object of it is to be preserved and guarded for its authors, even by our soldiers, our Generals, or our own government.

[REPORT CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

ANTI-SLAVERY DEPUTATION TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER.

At two o'clock on the 16th of April, His Excellency, Charles Francis Adams, United States Minister to Great Britain, gave audience to a Deputation of the members of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, at his official residence, to receive an Address from the Committee. The Deputation consisted of Mr. Samuel Gurney, M.P., Mr. John Ivatt Briscoe, M.P., the Hon. A. Kinnaird, M.P., Messrs. Josiah Forster, Henry Sterry, Robert Alsop, William Thomas Sargant, Gerard Ralston, the Rev. Dr. Carlile, and L. A. Chamerovzow.

The following is the text of the Address:

To His Excellency, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, *United States Minister to the Court of St. James's.*

SIR: The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are gratified at being able to offer an address of cordial welcome to an Ambassador from the United States of America to this country, who holds principles in harmony with their own.

This important and elevated office has been most appropriately conferred upon you, sir, whose sentiments on the subject of slavery have ever been in sympathy with those of the British nation, and who may be said to inherit them, in direct descent, from one of the most illustrious Presidents of the American Republic.

The Committee are rejoiced to welcome you, as the representative of the first government of the United States which has taken any active measures towards the removal of slavery, and the desire to pay it, through you, a tribute of confidence and respect. For many years, they have watched with the deepest interest, the development, in the Northern States, of public opinion through all its phases, and anticipated, with anxious solicitude, the day when a predominance of sentiment against the extension of slavery, should inaugurate a new and a memorable era in the history of the country.

The Committee desire to express their unqualified satisfaction at the avowed determination of the President and his administration, to put down the African slave trade, and consider that the cause of humanity is deeply indebted to them for the decided attitude now assumed against all persons implicated in the prosecution of this most infamous traffic. But while the measures the United States government is adopting are evidence of a resolution that cannot be too highly commended, the Committee respectfully submit, that others equally decisive are imperatively required to prevent the abuse of the United States flag for slave-trading purposes. It is notorious that the Trans-atlantic African slave trade is carried on almost exclusively under cover of that particular flag; and the Committee would, therefore, venture to suggest, that the United States government should, without delay, concert, with that of Great Britain, the means of preventing the abuse referred to.

The Committee feel it incumbent upon them to express their extreme gratification at the several propositions, tending towards Abolition, recently introduced to the United States Legislature, more especially those for the removal of slavery from the District of Columbia, and for according government aid to any State desirous of emancipating its slaves. While these measures may, indeed, when judged of from the Committee's point of view, fall short of actual right to the oppressed and injured slave, the Committee rejoice in them, and hail them most cordially, as full of promise for the future, and as steps approximating to the absolute requirements of justice and humanity.

The Committee view, with profound sorrow, the unhappy contest between the Northern and the Southern sections of the Republic. In the presence of so appalling a calamity, they can only give utterance to the fervent hope that the fratricidal conflict may soon cease, and peace be restored to the land; and that, with the abolition of the true cause of strife, a common ground of union may be found, and a divided community be again joined in the bonds of brotherhood.

In conclusion, the Committee would assure you, sir, of their personal esteem and consideration, and of their very sincere desire for the welfare and the prosperity of the nation you represent.

27 New Broad Street, E. C., 4th April, 1862.

The Address having been read by Mr. Chamerovzow, His Excellency made the following reply:

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: I receive your communication in the spirit in which it is made, and with every desire to reciprocate the friendly sentiments it conveys, as well to your country generally as to yourselves in particular.

The desire of the people of the United States is to extend the blessings to be obtained under free institutions as far as possible, consistently with the preservation of every existing obligation, over the entire surface of their territory. Against the prosecution of this policy, an appeal to arms has been taken by a misguided portion of their number. The ultimate effect can only be to accelerate the same general result, under circumstances rendered needlessly distressing to all. It is the earnest wish of the government to see the end so brought about as to avoid all the deplorable consequences that may follow wilful and violent resistance. I trust that those most deeply interested in the issue may avail themselves in season of the means left open for their restoration to safety, and that the common ground for a reunion, may be as you express it, the voluntary removal of the true and only cause of strife.

I think I can assure you that the President's attention is closely fixed upon the subject of the African slave trade, and that every effort will be made by the Administration, so far as it is possible under present circumstances to cooperate with Her Majesty's government in putting an end to the abuses to which you allude. I am not without hopes that effective means may be found to prevent, for the future, the desecration of the national flag by the pirates engaged in the nefarious traffic.

I pray you to receive my thanks for the very kind allusion you have made to myself, and to assure you of my cordial sympathy with you in the arduous labors in which you have been so long and so honorably engaged.

The Hon. A. Kinnaird, Mr. John Ivatt Briscoe, and Mr. Josiah Forster, having addressed the Minister on the subject of the Memorial, the Deputation withdrew.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, May 5, 1862.

THE latest rumor from the Court end of the town, worthy of especial notice, is that the Administration is ready to adopt the proposition urged upon it some time ago by a few of our anti-slavery Generals, to go to work and drill the fugitive slaves for soldiers with a view to employing them in the Southern forts next summer, and anywhere else according to the emergencies of the time. Perhaps I ought not to say that the proposition comes from anti-slavery Generals. To my knowledge, more than one leading Democrat believes most fully in this policy. Given a Democrat with a loyal heart, and brains in his head, and he will most certainly advocate the use of slaves to overcome the rebellion, when they can become of real service, and will support every rational scheme for the overthow of slavery as the continual cause of rebellion in the land. The trouble is that while we have Democrats of brains they are very apt to be wrong in their affections and sympathies. They hanker after the flesh-pots of Egypt. They sympathize with rebels, and of course they oppose every measure which proposes to strike a fatal blow upon rebels. Then there is another class of Democrats who are honest enough, but they lack brains. They really believe that "the Abolitionists" got up this war and are responsible for it, and that "the Abolitionists" and not the slaveholders should be put down. I have seen such Democrats here, and I do not in the least doubt their honesty, but they are honest at the expense of their intellect. They are stupid old fossils, with the cobwebs of a past century hanging to their skirts. There is a small class of genuine *war-Democrats*, who are worth their weight in gold. They are wrong in many respects, but they are of more value than hang-back Republicans. Such men are Odell in the House, Wright in the Senate, and I might mention several well-known names in the field, but perhaps it were better not. When it came to voting upon the District Emancipation bill, several Democrats voted for it. Now, though some of them may be Democrats still, and not particularly anti-slavery, yet they showed more courage in giving the vote than it is possible for a Republican to give at this time when public sentiment is in advance of the action of Congress on the questions of the hour.

The Confiscation bill stands in the Senate as it did, without a decision. A vote is expected early this week—perhaps it will be taken to-day. It seems strange that the Senate can hesitate. Yet I will not call in question the motives of such men as Collamer, Doolittle and Browning. They are, unquestionably, conscientious in their views, and must follow their convictions. But it seems to me that such men as Morrill, Grimes, Wilson and others, are right in this matter, as in many others. They seem to see straight through the fogs of prejudice and fogyism to the exact truth. In this matter of employing colored people in the war, Senator Grimes expressed his views long ago in one of the most eloquent and effective speeches ever delivered in the Senate. It was not merely an oratorical effort—it was a manly, eloquent, yet common-sense view of the subject.

Mr. Ashley of Ohio paid the colored population of this District a handsome compliment in the House, saying:

"Why, sir, with all the disabilities imposed upon the colored population of this District by Congressional enactments, corporation regulations, and blind prejudices—and they are sufficient to weigh down and destroy the worthy and energetic, and encourage the vicious and indolent—with all these disabilities, without a parallel in any nation on earth, that colored population will compare advantageously to themselves, with the colored population of any city in the free States. They have amassed property beyond belief. Their church property alone, as I am informed, is valued to exceed *one hundred thousand dollars*. They are taxed for the support of schools from which their children are excluded, and maintain separate schools of their own. They have societies for the support of their sick and disabled, and never permit one of their number to be buried at public expense. In thirty years not one of their number has been convicted of a capital offence."

In the same speech he gave some of our timid Republicans a smart hit:

"Individuals, however distinguished and worthy in all their relations in private life, who fail to cooperate earnestly with either the one or the other of the leading parties representing justice and freedom, or privilege and slavery, will continue to disappear, as they have done, from public life, and new and bolder leaders will be chosen by the people; for no generous and noble people will ever, knowingly, trust timid and time-serving leaders, knowing full well, as they do, that in such a contest as the party of privilege and slavery have forced upon this nation by their treason and rebellion there can be but two armies and two battle-fields, and two banners, that of the stars and stripes, representing liberty and union, or that of the serpent and pelican, representing slavery and disunion."

This is true, but we have a large number of men in the Republican party who do not understand it.

Your wide-awake, pro-slavery Democrat may succeed, for there is vitality in him, but your weak, timid, irresolute Republican, giving his approval of great principles with a faint voice, will soon go out of sight. The people like *pluck*. Men from the South wonder why Lovejoy gets so big a majority in Illinois, but the reason is apparent enough—he has pluck. It is not the anti-slavery in him which makes him popular in his district, but it is the pluck. We have men in the Senate—good, well meaning men, but who shiver all over every time the war, slavery or the rebellion are mentioned. They don't see their way out of the trouble we are in, and fear to adopt radical measures. Some of these gentlemen are as great men in intellect, as pure men in their patriotism and virtues as the country affords. It seems to me, an outsider, that they lack pluck, and that is all they do lack, to make them world-renowned. The end of the war will show if they be wiser than their fellows, and if I am mistaken in this criticism. The times are so strange it becomes one to be modest in his criticism—I am aware of that.

Gen. McDowell is employing fugitive slaves at Fredericksburg, and paying them good wages. "Fifty cents a day and one ration." Such is the statement of the papers. One man that I have met on the street, a Yankee, says, "It is too high a price—he shouldn't pay over *a quarter* for a day's work!" Another man, a pro-slavery advocate says, "I don't care about the price, though some say it is high, but it's a miserable business this employing *niggers* by the government!" Characteristic replies! The Yankee didn't like the price—the Southerner didn't like slavery to be touched. It *is* touched, and not with a gentle hand. McDowell employing slaves to build railroads, Hunter arming the slaves, and even McClellan expressing the opinion that army officers should not return fugitive slaves on the demand of their masters—well, things have come to a pretty pass! The cowards are "all of a tremble" in and out of Congress over this state of public affairs, and if it were possible there would be a *new* dissolution of the Union. Some of the Border State men have threatened it.

Great events are occuring all around us, but there is a dearth of news in Congress. The Confiscation bill has not passed. It will pass, however, and that speedily; and by "it" I mean a good, rigid Confiscation act. I believe no man desires to ruin the entire people of the South. It is *the leaders* every bill of this character should be aimed at. Such men as Jeff. Davis, Bob. Toombs and the like, should never escape. If they do, another rebellion will be upon us a dozen years hence. Some very intelligent writers seem to think that there is no danger of a recurrence of the rebellion if we close up with the rebels now upon any terms. Why not? If rebellion is made easy by the war—if rebels find that it is perfectly safe to rebel against the government, they will try again whenever a good opportunity occurs. But if the leaders are shot, exiled, or reduced to complete poverty, they will not try the business again of destroying a country, nor will their children do it. We shall have a good Confiscation bill through Congress within a fortnight, I think.

There is great excitement here this morning over the news from Yorktown, and the varieties of opinion upon McClellan's generalship amuse one. The first man I met on the street exclaimed, "McClellan has won Yorktown without a battle—*he* is the General for me. He'll drive the dogs out of Virginia!" The second exclaimed, "Here we have more *strategy!* The way McClellan is conducting the war, *the North will break down in its finances* before it is ended!" Who shall decide when doctors disagree? Here comes a sensible man from Yorktown, who says, the army, in its month before the enemy's works, has lost more men by disease and death than it would by the most sanguinary assault at the outset. Another gentleman says everything has been managed admirably, and that the result is glorious. The public seems to be divided into two parties on this question of the military abilities of Gen. McClellan, each equally confident and zealous, and insomuch as Gen. McClellan is fighting the enemy, your correspondent does not propose to take sides on this occasion. Let the President decide the matter and take the responsibility.

AVON.

Proceedings of Congress.

COLORED SCHOOLS IN WASHINGTON.

In the Senate April 29th, Mr. Grimes of Iowa introduced a bill for the education of colored children in the District of Columbia. It appears, says the Washington *Republican*, that this class pay $36,000 in taxes on $650,000 in real estate. It is proposed to divert one-tenth of this sum, or 3,600, to the education of colored children. The school trustees are directed to provide suitable school teachers and rooms, and are invested with the control and management of all funds derived from this source, and from all contributions of benevolent individuals.

MAKING THOROUGH WORK.

Mr. Wilson of Mass. has introduced in the Senate a bill to amend the bill of last session confiscating slaves, so as to include the wives and children of slaves.

SLAVE-CATCHING IN THE ARMY.

In the Senate on the 1st inst., on motion of Mr. Wilson (Rep., Mass.) the resolution asking the Military Committee to inquire whether any further legislation was necessary to prevent soldiers and officers from returning fugitive slaves was taken up.

Mr. Sumner said he was glad the Senator from Iowa, in his speech, had called attention to some officers concerning their treatment of fugitives. One General, who lately made an order returning fugitives, was a native of Massachusetts, and he (Sumner) used his influence to get him appointed. If he had known that Gen. Hooker would have made such an order, he never would have tried to get him an appointment. When a General falls in battle, there is honor in it, and we regret his death, but where a General falls as Gen. Hooker has fallen, there can be nothing but regret.

He referred to the order of Gen. Doubleday, and contrasted it with that of Gen. Hooker, saying that he (Doubleday) was an honor to his country.

[Gen. Doubleday's order directed that all negroes coming into the lines of any of the camps or forts under his command, should be treated as persons and not as chattels. He gave his reasons for the order in these words: "The General is of the opinion that they bring much valuable information, which cannot be obtained from any other source. They are acquainted with all the roads, paths, fords and other natural features of the country, and they make excellent guides. They also know and frequently have exposed the haunts of secession spies and traitors, and the existence of rebel organizations."]

Mr. Sumner then referred to the course of Gen. McCook at the West, and also to the conduct of the Provost-Marshal of Louisville as being disgraceful to the army.

Mr. Sumner also read an account of how the blacks were oppressed in Louisville.

Mr. Davis asked Mr. Sumner where he got his account.

Mr. Sumner said, from the newspapers in New York.

Mr. Davis had no doubt of the falsity of the account.

Mr. Wilson (Mass.) said he had abundant evidence of the disgraceful treatment of fugitive slaves by portions of the army.

Mr. Sumner also referred to the return of fugitive slaves from the camps of Gen. Buell, and to the order of Gen. Halleck excluding all fugitives from the lines of Gen. Halleck. He (Sumner) said the order was unconstitutional, absurd, deficient in common sense, an outrage upon common humanity, and unworthy of a soldier. Such an order would exclude all the valuable information received from fugitives, such as, for instance, the capture of New Orleans and the evacuation of Fredricksburg.

Mr. Saulsbury (Dem., Del.) offered as an amendment to the resolution the following:

"And also to inquire what further legislation is necessary to prevent the illegal capture and imprisonment of free white citizens of the United States."

Mr. Saulsbury referred to the number of persons taken from the States of Delaware and Maryland. They had been seized by the military authorities and dragged away to the forts and prisons, and after being kept a week or two were discharged because no fault could be found with them. These men belong to a class who are deemed to be of no account, and whose interests do not appear to be cared for. They unfortunately are free white persons. These men, who had committed no offense, were seized in violation of every law and every right. If the wrongs of the negro are to be redressed, he could only ask that the same justice might be meted out to white men. He asked nothing for men who were disloyal to the government; he would have them punished to the full extent of the law.

ANOTHER ABOLITION BILL.

In the House on the 1st inst., Mr. Lovejoy reported Mr. Arnold's bill "to make free forever all national and slavery sectional"—from the Committee on Territories, with no amendment in the body of the bill, but with this new title. "A bill to secure freedom to all persons within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal government." Mr. Lovejoy is unwilling to make slavery even sectional, or to make it at all.

THE COASTWISE SLAVE TRADE.

In the Senate on the 1st inst., Mr. Sumner gave notice that he should introduce a bill to abolish coastwise traffic in slaves, and to prevent the transportation of slaves through the United States. The proposed bill repeals three sections of the act of 1808 regulating the coastwise slave trade, and makes the transportation of slaves from one part of the United States to another, a penal offence.

THE CASE OF GEN. STONE.

The President, on the 1st inst., sent to the Senate a message in relation to the case of Gen Stone, saying "He was arrested under my general authority, and upon evidence which, whether he was guilty or innocent, required that such proceedings should be had against him for the public safety. I deem it incompatible with the public interest, as also, perhaps, unjust to Gen. Stone, to make a more particular statement of evidence. He has not been tried because in the state of military operations at the time of his arrest and since, the officers to constitute a court-martial could not be withdrawn from duty without generally injuring the public service. He will be allowed a trial without unnecessary delay, and charges and specifications furnished him, and every facility for defence afforded him, by the War Department."

Chronicles of the War.

Capture of Fort Macon.

Fort Macon, after a bombardment of 11 hours, commencing at 6 o'clock on Friday morning, April 25, was rendered wholly untenable, and the garrison was forced to yield on whatever terms Gen. Burnside saw fit to dictate. During the bombardment there were seven rebels killed, and quite a number wounded, while the National loss was but one man killed and eleven wounded. One of our batteries of breaching guns was established within eleven hundred yards of the fort, and our fire was so destructive that all but three of the guns bearing upon our batteries were dismounted, and all on the opposite side of the fort were placed in like condition. We captured, with the fort, fifty guns, 30,000 pounds of powder, a large quantity of shot and shell, 400 stand of arms, a large store of provisions, 430 prisoners and 30 horses, and have secured a port of entry, where large vessels can carry supplies to Gen. Burnside's army without difficulty. The garrison were released on parole, and were allowed to take their private effects with them—the officers retaining their side-arms.

Capture of New Orleans.

All the additional intelligence we have in reference to the capture of New Orleans, is received from the rebels, by way of Fortress Monroe. From indications, which have been permitted to leak out, it seems that the success is even more important than at first appeared. The redoubtable Com. Hollins, who passed through Columbia, S. C., on Saturday on his way to Richmond, expresses himself as perfectly amazed at the fall of the city, as there were 100 heavy guns in position on the levee below, and the iron-clad Louisiana was ready and waiting, while numerous boarding-parties had been organized to board and take the National vessels at all hazards. It appears to be certain that the Louisiana was engaged in some manner, as information had been received in Norfolk that McIntosh, her commander, had been wounded. It is also stated that Capt. Huger, supposed to have commanded the rebel gunboat McRae, was mortally wounded. All these hints prove that the Crescent City was not gained by the National forces without a desperate struggle. At last accounts it was held by a battalion of marines from Com. Farragut's squadron, and Gen. Butler's forces were within a few miles of the city, having approached by way of Lake Pontchartrain.

A dispatch, which comes up the Mississippi, from Com. Foote's flotilla, announces that Baton Rouge, La., has been captured by our forces.

Losses at the Battle of Pittsburg.

The official figures of our losses in the great battles of the 6th and 7th ult., at Pittsburg Landing, foot up as follows:

Total killed	1,735
Total wounded	7,882
Total missing	4,044
Grand total killed, wounded and missing	13,661

Evacuation of Yorktown.

On Sunday the country was startled by the announcement that the rebels had, on the previous night, abandoned their entrenchments at Yorktown, and that the place was in possession of the National forces. Various rumors had been in circulation during the previous week, principally founded on the statements of deserters, that the rebels intended to evacuate the position, but it was hardly thought possible that the rebel leaders would risk such a movement. Evidence became very strong on Saturday, however, that they would do so, and on Saturday night the evacuation took place. Our troops immediately occupied the deserted works, and a large amount of camp equipage was found, and guns, which the rebels dared not attempt to remove, for fear of discovery. Gen. McClellan immediately threw forward all his cavalry and horse-artillery in pursuit, and took measures at once to embark troops on the York river, to be landed at West Point, on the railroad to Richmond—Gloucester, in the meantime, having

Miscellaneous [illegible]

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVE[illegible]

WAITING FOR OR[illegible]

BY ALICE CAREY.

We worked to our orders—we crippled our victim,
And rasped the rough brand of our h[illegible]n his brow;
But see! he has shaken the blood from [illegible] forehead,
And, staggering, runs on before us! What now?

Shall we lash the flesh clean from his bones? Shall we play them
Like dice in this terrible game? 'tis for you
To determine—but where shall we bury the body
From men's eyes? I tell you, there's no grave will do!

Though seas should wash over its face—though the mountains
Were rolled on its dead mouth, 'twould rise to the light,
And the crown of its martyrdom, time after time, hold
A century forward, in all the world's sight!

You told us to hobble him—raze out his manhood,
And leave him the length of his tether, to go—
We took your base silver, and struck, and he lives but
To insult, and labor, and pain, as you know.

What next? for the sword of God's justice is bare, and
Will cut through this deep damning compact with sin—
We are pushed where we cannot all stand any longer—
The pit is uncapped for us! Who shall go in?

The trumpet is blowing! the echoes are going
All over the south-land—the slave hears the strife,
And out of the cane-fields, and out of the rice-swamps,
He lifts up his crop-ears, and listens, for life!

THE MISSIONS AT PORT ROYAL.

Special Correspondence of The Tribune.

PORT ROYAL, April 23, 1862.

I HAVE not much to add to the statements in a former letter concerning the progress of the efforts of the Treasury Department in behalf of the estates and laborers on these islands. Their success has been, and continues to be, unexpectedly complete. On more than a hundred and fifty plantations the negroes are industriously pursuing their regular work of planting cotton. A considerable crop is sure to be raised, if no unexpected hindrance prevents. The agents under Mr. Pierce are usefully occupied in their duties of superintendence, and, with very few exceptions, have had influence enough upon the negroes to cure the continuance of the usual plantation work. Their position and duties are so frequently misunderstood that I repeat an explanation already given. Culture of the cotton was always, and is still, the business of the negro-drivers, who alone have the requisite knowledge and experience. Neither Mr. Pierce nor the agents under him ever proposed to undertake these duties. They superintend the plantations, encourage the negroes to work, supply them with tools and seeds, attend to such details of its management as their former proprietors might have done, and, in addition, undertake the education of the laborers. It is remarkable that so large a proportion of men, hastily selected for novel duties, should discharge them so thoroughly well. Disorder and insubordination on the estates are infrequent and temporary, and there has been little or no trouble of any kind that required the interference of the General Superintendent.

It can hardly be necessary to notice the statements in recent correspondence from Port Royal printed in the New York *Herald*. Those letters were devoted to ridicule of the government scheme, misrepresentation of facts, and coarse abuse of the agents, and no one could have believed them honestly written. Their author, in his zeal to damage a cause the merits and purpose of which he could not understand, chose to insult even women who were honorably engaged in benevolent work. His most fraudulent falsehoods have already been contradicted, which was paying them too much attention. I have been asked by Capt. Fuller, lately the Post Quartermaster at Beaufort, to say that so far as those statements affect him and his management of the laborers in his department, every material fact is misstated. The acting Provost-Marshal, Lieut. Belcher, of the 8th Michigan, also volunteered a contradiction of the stories about the occupation of the best houses and the collection of luxurious furniture by Mr. French and his assistants. The houses, which were by no means the best, were assigned to them by order of Gen. Stevens, and the Provost-Marshal himself, in obedience to the same order, endeavored to collect some furniture that remained in other houses for their use, but without much success. I give these contradictions at their request, as a sample of the rest, and also lest anybody should be impertinent enough to say that, because these falsehoods were not confuted, they were acquiesced in. I believe every material statement in *The Herald* letters was either a misrepresentation or an invention outright.

But the most satisfactory evidence of the condition of affairs on the estates may be found in the sanction and approval of Gen. Hunter, given after inquiry and examination, to the plan and the method of its execution. I have his authority for saying that he deems the plan a wise one; that all evidence goes to show that it is in successful operation, and that he will afford all the assistance and coöperation in his power. The only doubt in his mind was whether the full capacity of the estates should not have been devoted to raising corn and potatoes instead of partly to cotton. This was in view of possible future military wants. But so far is Gen. Hunter from wishing to interfere with the cultivation of the estates and the benefit to the negroes from remaining on them, under this system, that he expects to be able to draw from other sources the negro labor which is needed for military purposes.

Mr. Pierce has received from the Treasury Department money enough to pay a part of the wages due the negroes. The amount hereafter paid will be in a measure dependent on the quantity of cotton raised. Mules, and some of the supplies most urgently needed for the plantations, have also been received. I annex Mr. Pierce's circular to the agents as an illustration of the minute particularity with which details are attended to in the promotion of this visionary and fanatical scheme. At Edisto, trouble has occurred on account of the efforts of the commissaries and quartermasters to take possession of the stock and other property on the plantations for the immediate use of the army. The annexed order of Gen. Benham thereupon will sufficiently show his opinion of the work in progress, and his disposition to aid it. Sufficient returns have not yet been received from the agents to indicate the quantity of cotton and corn that will be raised on the islands. On Port Royal Island alone more than a thousand acres have been planted with cotton, and on sixty-three plantations 2,283 acres with corn, beside the two or three tasks per hand which the negroes cultivate for themselves, which will increase the number to not less than 3,500. From which it may be inferred that Mr. Pierce and his agents have not altogether succeeded in persuading the negroes to be as idle as their enemies have desired.

I am asked by Mr. Pierce and Mr. French to repeat a former statement, that the supplies of clothing for men, women and children, on the plantations, are still largely inadequate to their necessities, so much so that, although a large quantity has been sent and carefully distributed, it has served rather to stimulate expectation than to satisfy the demand. Clothing sent through the New York Association should be directed to the Rev. Mr. French; all other supplies, as heretofore, to E. L. Pierce, special agent of Treasury Department. All that is sent is carefully and wisely distributed.

Mr. John Fila, formerly a resident of South Carolina, and now claiming to be and to have always been, a loyalist, came recently to this Department, and alleging that he was and is the owner of a plantation and negroes on Port Royal Island, preferred before Gen. Stevens a claim to be reinstated in possession of his property both real and personal. The estate which he claims is now in care of a superintendent under Mr. Pierce, and carried on, like the rest, for the common benefit of the government and the laborers upon it. Mr. Fila made no application to Mr. Pierce, but sought relief in the first instance from Gen. Stevens. That officer, anxious to restore the old amenities of the patriarchal institution, and to remand about fifty negroes to their natural guardian who had precipitately abandoned them, referred him with a letter of earnest recommendation to Gen. Hunter. That General decisively declined to interfere in any way with the operations of the Treasury Department, or to assume any judicial functions whatever. Mr. Fila's claim was peremptorily put aside, and he was summoned to show cause for his appearance within that jurisdiction.

Former complaints of the management of the negroes in the quartermaster's department at Beaufort, under Capt. Lilley, have been renewed even more seriously since Mr. Broad, formerly a Southern overseer and more recently a cotton agent, was appointed superintendent by Gen. Stevens. The negroes seemed to have gained little or nothing in any respect, while Mr. Broad, to the neglect, overwork, wretched commissariat, and general brutality of Capt. Lilley, has added the refinement of ingenious tortures for refractory or dissatisfied laborers. I pass over the details of his cruelty. They need not be published in order to draw official attention to the fact. They have been reported to Gen. Hunter. Gen. Stevens has been directed to dismiss his superintendent, and Mr. Broad has been ordered to leave the department forthwith.

Gen. Hunter has begun to issue free papers to the negroes entitled under the act of Congress to their freedom by virtue of services compulsorily rendered to the rebels. Printed forms are prepared requiring only to be filled with the name of the former slave and the signature of the General commanding who emancipates him. The following is a copy of the first:

It having been proven, to the entire satisfaction of the General commanding the Department of the South, that the bearer, William Jenkins, heretofore held in involuntary servitude, has been directly employed to aid and assist those in rebellion against the United States of America;

Now, be it known to all that, agreeably to the laws, I declare the said person free, and forever absolved from all claims to his services. Both he and his wife, and his children, have full right to go North, South, East or West, as they may decide.

Given under my hand, at the headquarters of the Department of the South, this nineteenth day of April, A.D., 1862.
D. HUNTER, Major-General Commanding.

That document passes into history as the first act of emancipation on the soil of South Carolina by the General government of the United States. Its perfect lawfulness and conclusive effect are beyond question; for it is based on a law of Congress, put in operation by the Major-General commanding the Department, and the bearer of it is on board the steamer Atlantic on his way to the North. He is a negro of intelligence and excellent character. His name is rightly given as William Jenkins, but those who have known him for the last month as a servant in the Chief Quartermaster's office will more readily recognize him as "Major."

It is Gen. Hunter's purpose to retain for the present, so far as possible, those emancipated under this law in the service of the Quartermaster's Department as heretofore. When I left Port Royal—for I finish this letter on the Atlantic—nearly a hundred cases had been examined and passed, and the papers were to be issued immediately. Gen. Hunter was engaged in signing them the evening before the steamer sailed. It is a long step from Gen. Sherman's first manifesto to this deed of emancipation, but Gen. Hunter's readiness to put himself decisively on the side of freedom is at once an evidence of the growth and the reflection of the strength of the popular conviction that all means are necessary to finish this war. He wins for himself an enduring reputation, that strikes a blow both at the rebellion and its cause.

FREDRIKA BREMER ON EMANCIPATION.

From The Tribune.

THE following extract from a private letter from the distinguished Swedish authoress to a friend in this country, and the address to her American friends which follows, have been handed to us for publication:

"STOCKHOLM, April 1, 1862.

"DEAREST FRIENDS . . . : The very evening of the day on which I last wrote to you about the Message of your President (which I had read in the Swedish papers) there was a thundering knocking at my door. Though it was late, and nearly my bed-time, I knew it was the postman, and opened, and what came in? *The Tribune*, from ——, with the Message of the President encircled with a glory (no matter if of ink) which told me how you looked upon it, and that this was just as I had done. This was charming? And the Message in its own tongue, and in its simple, earnest, clear words, looked still more admirable, and more perfect, than it had looked in the abbreviated translation of it in Swedish (though that was good and expressive).

"After President Lincoln's Message, I did feel such a strong desire to chime in with the feeling that it must call forth in all right-minded citizens, and to swell the general voice with one voice more (you know that the little bells must join with the great ones if the chorus shall be complete), and also to give my tribute of love and sympathy for America's great cause—one with that of humanity—that I wrote at once what I send here. If you think that this effusion of sympathy from a person who is known as a warm friend to America's best aspirations and life, and who has been, everywhere in your land, treated with the most kind and generous hospitality—if, I say, you think that its publication would do some good and no harm, then make it public.

"I cannot but repeat to you how happy this turn in your moral warfare, especially in this moment when the material war on every point turns in favor of freedom's cause, has made me. This is the moment for generous sacrifice on the part of the North, and a magnanimous returning of good for evil. This may be the greatest moment in America's history! It may show that a nation *can* rise to the full dignity of a Christian man. Professor Bergfalk has just been to see me. We are both delighted with the goodness, manliness, and also cleverness of your good President's Message. Nothing better!

"We look impatiently to see how this Message will be received by the American people at large. We know already that it has been approved by both your Houses. Thank God! Ever yours,
"FREDRIKA BREMER."

In another letter Miss Bremer proposes to contribute $100 toward the President's plan of emancipation, and adds:

"Small as is the sum, it may yet serve to free a poor elderly black woman working under the lash. I saw in South Carolina and in Cuba two or three such old faces, whose looks of settled despair will forever haunt me. During the summer the money will be sent to you in a check from London. I cannot tell you with what joyful sympathy I shall henceforth follow the triumphs of your arms, for I see justice and generosity to your white as well as your black brethren going with them."

"TO MY AMERICAN FRIENDS.

"Returned to my home in Sweden, after a sojourn of more than five years in southern and eastern countries, I find that home enriched by gifts of American friends, sent during my absence. Most of these gifts consist of books, good and beautiful products of American Literature. Some of these are endeared to me by letters from their givers, others by kind words on the title-page, signed only by initials; several have no mark at all of the friendly hand whose gift they are. These spirit-signs have come to me from different parts of the United States, in the North, in the West, and in the South. They have made me most joyfully alive to my ties of everlasting sympathy with the great Western World, its life, and aspirations; but they have also left me oppressed with gratitude. For how shall I be able to acknowledge these fresh tokens of good will from a people which, perhaps, more than any other, delights in giving, in the noble hospitalities of the soul? How can I but long to make known to these known and unknown friends how much they have enriched, not only my book-shelves, but my [illegible]? Such expressions of my feelings would not hu[illegible] them, and would make me more easy, by letting me feel a little less in debt. But how shall I reach them?

"Thanks be to God, and next to Guttenberg, if I cannot come to them by the written word, I can do so by the printed one, and make that hundred-tongued bird, the press, bear to them the expressions of my gratitude, wherever they may be. Among the anonymous givers, I suspect two publishers, who, while I was in America, and afterward, have given me, in beautiful and valuable works, repeated tokens of their generosity and good will. Let me, for many such, here thank Mr. G. P. Putnam and Messrs. Ticknor and Fields.

"But it is especially with my friends in *the homes* of the United States—those good and blessed homes in the North, the South, and the West, in the free States and in the slave States, where I have been a happy guest—that I wish to speak; to commune as I did when I was with them, as a sister with brothers and sisters.

"You know it well, my friends, without my saying it, what a deep interest I have taken in your present civil strife. But you cannot know how bitterly I have felt to see a bloody fratricidal war pollute a country gifted beyond all others with all the blessings of this earth—a country of which men such as Horace Mann and A. J. Downing (each in his way) have worked to make, as God seems to have intended it to be, a paradisaical home for mankind.

"From the beginning of the war I have thirsted and hungered to see started some measure for pacification, by which the purity of the principle of individual and civil freedom—the very life-principle of your great Republic—should be made to coincide with justice, equity, and, *possibility* on all points. I have hoped of the genius of America that it would bring out such a wonderful thing.

"Praised be God! and that good genius, such a thing has now come indeed!

"The recent Message of President Lincoln, and his proposition of compensation by the government to those slave States which would give up the institution of slavery, and reënter the Union as free States—this proposition, made in terms as wise as its tone is manly and resolute, seems one of those measures of *high politics* which alone can rule over lower ones, conciliate the interests at war, and make the United States government rise to the dignity of a high moral principle. It is also simple as the egg of Columbus. It seems *the thing* to be done.

"Such inspirations come from God to good and upright minds. It makes them natural Presidents of the peoples. In this case it seems clear that the Chief Magistrate of the United States, by this measure, has associated to himself all honest, unselfish hearts, in your great land, for one great work—for right, and freedom, and peace, for the good of all. And it seems to me that the father and mother will talk about it in their homes with their children and servants; that the brother will confer about it with his sisters and brothers; that everybody will come forward to give his mite of work and good will, the widow her penny, the child his toy; that there will henceforth be, both in the South and the North, a third party, which may be named *Christ's party*; a party for brotherly love, for sacrifice, for peace and good will—and that every Christian man and woman will enlist under its banner. The stars of that banner will never fall off, but they may shed a new lustre over the people of the United States, and bring a harmony and prosperity to the homes of America which they have not known before. Difficulties may come—must come—in the carrying out of the proposed measure; new sacrifices may be required on all sides; but no difficulties will be too intricate, no sacrifices too great, for a great people determined to go forward in the cause of justice and equity to every one. And then angels in heaven once again may sing, as they once did in prophetic vision:

"'Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will unto men.'

"You can hasten that day, my friends—the day of release, of peace and joy to your country and to millions of hearts interested in her glory! Permit me among those to name also myself; for never more than in this hour did I feel myself so truly and entirely yours. FREDRIKA BREMER."

BLACK FREEDMEN FOR SOLDIERS.

INAUGURATION OF THE POLICY IN SOUTH CAROLINA!

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Arming the negroes! The very words are fraught with terror. From the first hour of the rebellion a prophetic fear has inspired the traitors South, that the government would seize upon this tremendous agency for their destruction; and the traitors North, opening out in sympathy, have never ceased their ominous invectives against the policy. The horrors of St. Domingo have been invoked to appal our souls, and deepened far beyond the warrant of facts to affright us. Politicians and philanthropists have alike shrunk from an experiment so dangerous to popularity, and so laden with possible dangers to humanity.

But all this time the war has been going on, and people have been thinking. The *animus* of rebellion has finally succeeded in proving to the world its utter and unparalleled malignity and desperation. We have seen the tomahawk and scalping-knife reddened with loyal blood, and every incident of barbarous warfare attending the operations of our enemies. We have been taught that the virus of secession is both intense and generally diffused, and that the work of eradication is the most gigantic ever imposed on a people fighting to sustain the government of their choice. We have been led to query, Who are these privileged rebels, that they should be permitted to use against us every resource of war and diplomacy, of invention and cunning, of malignity and barbarism, and yet be guaranteed by us against any death save that dealt by a white hand? We have been forced to consider the truth of that bold assertion, that denies to a black man, in time of war, the right to defend himself against a white one, or to strike for the government whose enemies are his own.

We have become better acquainted, too, with the negro character. We have found it more patient and less savage than we expected; in fact, human. We see that the bloody lessons taught by slave insurrections in the past, have been bloody through the exigencies imposed by slavery, rather than from a love of blood on the part of the slaves. And so, when Gen. Sherman moved down the coast with the "expeditionary corps," to plant the "stars and stripes" again on the soil of South Carolina, he carried with him the famous instructions of Secretary Cameron, which gave him the fullest power to employ black men as well as white, in the service of the government as he should deem best—even in arms, against the rebels. This power, in the hands of Gen. Sherman, remained unused. There are indications that it will not do so in the hands of his successor.

There can be no objection, now, to making public some events of significance which have recently occurred at Port Royal. A daily journal of this city has already announced in its editorial columns, upon Washington authority, that "a large quantity of muskets, and a large quantity of red trousers to match, are to be sent to Gen. Hunter," which explains that they are to be used in the military organization of the loyal blacks of South Carolina. After this public statement, I may be justified in mentioning the incidents before referred to.

In a letter from Port Royal, written some weeks since, I stated that a negro-preacher at that place, named Abram Murchison, possessing great influence among the blacks, had been summoned before Gen. Hunter, who desired to obtain from him some important information. One of the subjects on which he was questioned was the feeling of the blacks in regard to military organization. The conversation was deemed of sufficient importance by Gen. Hunter to warrant further proceedings, and Abram was directed to call a meeting of all the male blacks at Hilton Head, with a view of ascertaining their disposition and desires.

This meeting was held on the evening of Monday, April 7. The object was unknown to the negroes themselves; they were only aware that it was one that closely touched their interest. The call and proceedings were conducted with the utmost secrecy. Only two white men were present—Mr. Lee, Superintendent of the negroes, employed at Hilton Head, and Mr. Wilson, head carpenter for the government. The most rigid guard was instituted to exclude those whose presence was not desired, and to prevent eavesdropping on the part of the over-curious.

The large room used for negro-meetings was crowded by the expectant audience. The invitation had been extended only to males, hence, no women were present. Murchison made a short address to his brethren, in which he depicted, with a great deal of clearness and force, their condition and relations to the government, and the obligations and interests that should impel them to its support. At times, his language rose to eloquence, and he was listened to with the most breathless interest; and it was evident that every word found a response in the sympathies of his hearers. After stating that it was in contemplation by the government to offer them the means and opportunity of military organization, and after candidly explaining the labors, hardships and dangers, as well as the advantages of soldier life, the speaker desired all who were willing to take up arms in defence of the government and of themselves, to rise. *Every man sprang to his feet* in an instant.

Mr. Lee and Mr. Wilson followed the remarks of Abram, with others designed to enlighten the negroes in regard to the intentions of the government. It was impressed upon them that they were not in the slightest degree to be coerced into this military measure. All who chose to enroll themselves must do so voluntarily and with a full knowledge of the consequences. Each man who chose was permitted to come forward and have his name entered on the list, as a volunteer soldier, in case the government chose to accept his services. *Every man in the room came forward.* A few old men and boys were rejected on the ground of age, and the refusal seemed to inspire them with the most genuine regret.

They were then told that government had promised arms and equipments, and urged to give the matter the most serious reflection. With a caution against public conversation on the subject, the meeting was dismissed, and each one left, all excited to enthusiasm, and apparently rejoicing in the opportunity that was about to be realized, of exercising the right of defence of himself and his family, and of offering his life in defence of the government whose protection be enjoyed.

The number enrolled that evening war one hundred and five. During the next day, many others who had not been present came forward and gave in their names, swelling the list to about one hundred and thirty. During the next few days, it reached the number of one hundred and fifty. This, I learn, embraces nearly or quite all the able-bodied negroes employed at that point. There has been no reaction—no symptom of regret. The action of the negroes seems based upon feelings as genuine, and convictions as firm as those that instigate white men in similar circumstances. If the black men at Hilton Head are a fair index of the whole population of the plantations (and I see no reason to doubt it), history has never furnished an instance of more conspicuous and unanimous patriotism. Neither Greeks, nor Switsers, nor Highland Scots, nor Yankees, ever assumed the responsibilities of arms with more alacrity or cheerfulness.

But will they fight? Volunteering is one thing; standing fire another. Of course, this question can only be answered by the event. Those, however, who have seen them most, and who know them best, are confident of their courage. Instances have been named to me of the most exemplary conduct in action on the part of some of the South Carolina negroes heretofore employed by us. The pilot Isaac, who guided Commander Stevens, and his boats in the affair at Port Royal Ferry, was under fire, and endured it like a veteran. Both among the rebels and our own forces, have been opportunities for testing the quality of physical courage in the negro, which have generally resulted in his favor. Certainly, from all we *know*, we have no right to doubt that he will fight in a cause that impels him to volunteer. To pronounce a man a coward in advance, after he has testified his willingness to incur danger, and before he has been tried, would be ungenerous and unreasonable. At all events, if the announcement is true concerning the arms and equipments to be sent to Gen. Hunter for the use of the negroes, we shall soon see another principle demonstrated—another fact tested—by that sagacious and fearless soldier. And then, if the experiment prove a success, the question how to make South Carolina again loyal will have been answered. We shall at once find her soil occupied by a friendly people outnumbering the rebels, and prepared to hold it for the government by the strong hand we have armed. Truly, to see South Carolina, the very seat of disloyalty, garrisoned and guarded, and defended by those who so lately were slaves there to the lash and the chain—to see a black police maintaining order where so lately it was a crime for a negro to move but by a white man's command; and to see all this done under the authority of government—unattended by disorder, unaccompanied by outrage—would be an example of retributive justice unmixed with vengeance, such as history has never yet recorded. And what region so appropriate for the sublime and beneficent experiment as the State of South Carolina?—and what soil so fit for the grave of slavery as that where treason was born, nursed and reared to its dreadful maturity?

J. M. W.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

OUR WATCHWORD.

Suggested by Miss Anna E. Dickinson's Lecture at Newport, R. I.

We need a watchword for our hosts,
A watchword for each noble band,
To take the place of all our boasts,
To fill the air, to sweep the strand,
To sound mid Maine's cathedral pines,
Or where gold-shored Pacific shines—
A watchword for our mighty land.

It must be strong; a word to thrill
The slowest pulse that ever beat,
To fire the heart's deep citadel
With quenchless, solemn passion-heat;
So strong that women, weak before,
May grow more brave than knights of yore,
When they that word of strength repeat.

It must be lasting; cannon tones
May shake the earth and then be still,
And nations' passions, nations' groans,
Cease quickly as the night wind's thrill;
This word must last, most like the sea
That soundeth on eternally,
With unexhausted, boundless will.

And pure—that we may never shrink
To name it in our holiest prayer;
So pure, that we may never think
That word too mean for God to hear,
And white-winged angels, as they stoop
To gather hymns of mortals up,
May smile to find our watchword there.

And high—our noblest must not rise
Above it, in their highest thought;
And old, that proudest memories
May in its utterance be inwrought;
And clear, that all the world may know
Who is our friend, who is our foe,
For whom and why the field is fought.

And brief; the dying must have time
To speak it with their dying breath,
Mid shock and roar and bloody slime,
And mists that hide the plain of death;
Brief, that each baby's lips may be
Taught to pronounce it perfectly
For its first article of faith.

They who have met us, steel to steel,
Raised a new flag their curse to be,
Have chosen well; we hear it peal
Above their loudest battery;
We read it in the deeds that shame
Columbia's soil, the Christian name—
They shriek it, shout it, "Slavery."

Give us a word to silence theirs,
As summer forces winter back,
As daylight, borne on eastern airs,
Exiles the night-power, grim and black,
That our watchword may fill the earth,
And theirs may have no second birth
Along our conquering army's track.

There's but one word in every tongue
So lasting, pure, so clear, so high,
So short to speak, so wondrous strong;
We choose it for our battle-cry;
And "Freedom! Freedom!" evermore
Shall lead our hosts from shore to shore,
And fill with holier light our sky.

Newport, R. I. ELLEN.

A BIVOUAC NEAR YORKTOWN.

Correspondence of The New York Tribune.

——, April 18, 1862.

THE fire of green yellow pine mounts higher; and by its great blaze the features of the Virginia slave, emancipated by the war, show an unmixed African descent.

A Colonel—This war is the solution of the slavery question. Who can solve the riddle of the Negro Question?

A General—God is solving it. I wish it were possible for politicians to treat his Providence with respect, and leave him alone. The disappearance of races is a historical and a philosophical fact too old to exite surprise. The solution of the Negro Question will be found in the commingling of the blood of the two races. Feebleness, barrenness and extinction, will be the inevitable consequence. Races of men preceding the copper-colored have disappeared from the American continent. The red man is fast going. The black man will inevitably follow the Indian into history and tradition. This continent and its island appendages are for the Saxon breed, five regiments of which, at once warriors, politicians, engineers, merchants, mechanics and civilisers, have just gone into the dark there, to enable us to crush Yorktown some morning before breakfast.

A Lieutenant—I saw a remarkable evidence three days ago, that slavery has established a rot in the military character of these Virginians. On their right, opposite Ayer's terrible rifle-guns, a negro could be seen in an embrasure occasionally, going through by snatches with the loading of a piece, which the regular gunners dared not work. They were unmanly enough to push the nigger forward to be killed.

A Civilian—The chivalry of this war is inevitably Northern. It can't be Southern. It is not possible for a man educated from infancy to the violation of all the rights of another, to be manly and generous. I saw what the Lieutenant describes, and I saw a contrast to it at the same time. Ayres, who is as brave as he is skillful, lay upon a gun looking through his field-glass steadily at a rebel officer on horseback within the enemy's upper works. He could descry his slouch hat and his full beard—but the distance was too great for identification. Rising he said, "I can't make him out—but he has a West Point look." I glanced significantly at a sharpshooter under the gun, holding across his knees one of those rifles that never miss, and then glanced inquiringly into Ayres's handsome face. "I am not a murderer, sir!" he said, "I kill men only in actual battle", and strode away with dignity.

A Captain—Slavery makes men liars and thieves. Children in the South are suckled, and nursed by slaves—play with slaves—and receive their earliest impressions and most abiding education from slaves. Lying and stealing are the vices of slaves—consider this creature Beauregard. How his proclamation to his army at Manassas was a lie! How he lies in his letters and orders! Floyd is another fair sample. He was a thief by education, and a liar by habit. The rebels use their newspapers to mislead us with lies. They hide and cover, with a cunning that Northern men know nothing about. We publish everything in newspapers—simply from habitual frankness. They publish nothing, because silence is one of the defenses of slavery, and darkness the cover of much of Southern life.

A Major—Well, gentlemen, say what you will of these villains, they are in earnest about this war, and that is what we are not.

There was a very expressive silence about the great fire. More than one officer stooped, and evaded a reply, by taking up a block of pine and casting it on the flaming heap.

A Civilian—Gentlemen, permit me modestly to remark, that my idea of war was long since realised by Cromwell in Ireland.

Another General—And mine by Hannibal in his nineteen years fighting in Italy.

A Lieutenant—And mine by Scipio and the Roman plowshare in Carthage.

Another General (resuming)—We have got to whip these people. A compromise is utterly impossible. We have got to whip them permanently, so that they will stay whipped. To do this, slavery, the origin of the war, must cease to exist.

A Colonel—I was full of impatience at the length of the war, when it had lasted six months. Now, every week that is added to it gives me hope and comfort. It is one fifty-second part of a dead certainty that when I go back to my law office, there won't be a slave within the limits of the Republic. I don't care a snap of my finger how much the war costs. Our grandchildren can pay the war debt, if we and our children can't. To free the nation from slavery, and to plant civilization in the fifteen revolted States, is a good cheaply purchased at three thousand million dollars.

——'s Staff Officer—The extinction of slavery in fifteen States seems to me the depopulation of fifteen States. What will that cost the North?

A Major—It will cost it at the expense of colonizing the South.

A Lieutenant—The Romans colonised their conquered territory; indeed, all colonization has been military, even our own. We claim that it has been peaceful; but a tribe of Indians has been shot off the surface of every Western State.

A General—Gentlemen, I tell you that the occupation of the cotton lands of the rebels is a necessity. We have either got to acknowledge the independence of the revolted States or to conquer them. *If we conquer them, slavery, of course, is ended. We cannot reinstitute it*; that is certain. The cotton lands have got to be worked. The whites of the South cannot and will not take the places of their slaves in the fields. We Northern men have either got to go without cotton or to produce it. This army is pretty much made up of farmers, and their destiny, whether they know it or not, is to determine by experiment the question if the men who hoe corn in Pennsylvania and Ohio can hoe cotton in Carolina and Alabama. If they can, they will be hoing it within two years. The world cannot get along without American cotton. So prepare to have your sabres turned into hoes. But we will talk politics pretty soon, and get to quarreling. Col. ——, did you ever before see a siege in which the beleaguered did not fire upon their foe while building batteries, and moving whole regiments of working parties across an open plain under long-range guns?

Col. —— —What *is* the policy of these fellows?

Major—If we had the Monitor free to come up to Yorktown, or anything like the Western boats Carondelet and Benton, to coöperate with us for twenty-four hours, this siege would be ended with the bayonet. As it is, my idea is that the rebel policy in this Peninsula is delay. They wish to carry us into their hot and sickly season, and in the meantime will pray that the necessity of France and England for cotton will compel their intervention to end the war. They let us build batteries, construct new roads for heavy siege guns, and march details to work in open view. Of course they will resist our bombardment and repel our assault, if we attempt one. But we will find, some seven miles from here, another line of entrenchments stretched across the Peninsula, through ravines, woods and swamps, just as favorable to them as this line is, and before which the inevitable delays of siege operations will hold us until the June or July heats. We will, of course, whip them—whip them out of this Peninsula, and whip them out of Virginia. But, gentlemen, we are going to be older men when we wash our horses' hoofs in the Gulf of Mexico.

A huge shell, distant, but whose steam-like rush through the air was so near as seemingly almost capable of being felt, changed the current of feeling and conversation. Soon the bivouac fire was deserted. As I lingered behind to thoroughly dry my feet, I imaged in the embers one of these 100-pounder Parrott shot—a conscious, winged, raging, straight-rushing spirit of destruction, blazing over an encamped army, with such action and facial expression of fury and power as Beard's pencil could give, showering death and wounds as he went.

THIRTY-FIVE POUNDS OF CHAINS.

From The Jefferson (Pa.) Star.

WE have the pleasure of presenting a letter, by permission of I. G. Gordon, Esq., from the pen of a young friend, Mr. James A. Jenks. Mr. J. is the son of the well-known Dr. John Jenks, deceased, late of Punxsutawney, Jefferson County. We want every man, woman and child in the County, who has a heart that can rejoice over a noble act, to read the following letter. Mr. Jenks knew of a black man who had done good service for the Union army, and he went three miles to knock thirty-five pounds of chains from his limbs. Magnanimous and glorious act! I did it "by order of suffering humanity." "I am arrested for daring to take the chains off a human being—a man who has a soul like our own." There is the manifestation of the spirit that moves in the breast of a noble-hearted man.

LEXINGTON, Mo., Feb. 28, 1862.

DEAR BROTHER: You will, no doubt, be surprised to learn that I am under arrest. The reasons are as follows: Yesterday I was informed that there was a negro in irons about three miles from town. Last night I called at the house, accompanied by a few of my own men. I found the negro with chains on him weighing thirty-five pounds! I brought him into camp; Lieut. Burdell, a sergeant of Company B, and myself, took the chains off him. Col. Stephenson of the Seventh Missouri ordered Major Leffingwell to arrest me. This he refused to do, but said he would call me in, which he did, and the following conversation took place:

Colonel—"Lieut. Jenks, did you go to the country, get a negro, and bring him into camp last night?"

Answer—"I did."

Colonel—"Are you aware that you have violated an order of Gen. Halleck?"

Answer—"I am not, sir."

Colonel—"By whose order did you act?"

Answer—"I acted on my own responsibility, and by order of suffering humanity."

Colonel—"You will return the negro immediately."

Answer—"Colonel, that is impossible; I do not know where he is."

Colonel—"You may then consider yourself under arrest—bring me your sabre."

Answer—"Very well, sir."

So I am arrested for daring to take the chains off a human being—a man who has a soul like our own. He was chained because he dared to attempt to escape from the hellish bondage in which he was held. This man had done what he could for the Union cause in the battles at this place. Now, brother, I feel that I have done right in the sight of Heaven, and with the blessing of Heaven, I fear not what man can do with me. Your brother,

JAMES D. JENKS.

To Isaac G. Gordon, Brookville, Pa.

A SOUTHERN BLOODHOUND.

Correspondence of The Christian Advocate and Journal.

IN the course of our journey through the plantations on Hilton Head island it was my fortune to see one of those animals, the race of which, I trust, is destined very soon to become utterly extinct. It was a full-grown and well-trained bloodhound, whose occupation had been to track such of our fellow-men and fellow-women as had been tempted, and had yielded to the temptation, to use their own God-given power of locomotion and seek freedom. "He sure to cotch um when set upon de track, sah, and if driver no come up pretty soon tear um all to pieces. De only way to 'scape was to climb tree and stay dar till massa come." So said an evidently honest, gray-headed patriarch, from whom I derived much information relative to the training, habits, and instincts of these animals. I had read stories about them which were horrible enough to curdle the heart's blood, but had thought they might be, and tried to make myself believe that they were, the mere imaginings of a certain class of men known as Abolitionists, and supposed to be so unfriendly to the domestic institutions of our Southern brethren as to be capable of inventing falsehoods to render them odious in the eyes of the civilised world. It seemed more creditable to our common humanity thus to account for those tales of barbarous cruelty, than to believe that such things had actually taken place. But I am driven from that alternative. I am satisfied that nowhere, save in the register kept on high, have been written the darkest and bloodiest of those narratives which have made "the angels weep"; and I am thankful that, at length, even editors of what are called "conservative" religious newspapers, as well as ministers, who once declared that Abolitionists are worse than slaveholders, are beginning to see their error and to repent of it.

The cur whose acquaintance I made on Squire Pope's plantation was symmetrically formed, but could not be called handsome. He had a slouching, downcast, mean look. I spoke some friendly words to him, but he detected the imposition, and evidently felt that this language did not come from the heart. I could not get him to look me in the eye. He would not even wag his tail, and seemed disposed to slink out of sight. After hearing an account of some of his exploits I asked my aged mentor why they suffered the villanous hound to live. The question seemed to surprise him. It was evident that the idea of putting the dog to death had never occurred to him, nor to any of his associates. "Well, sah" said he, "de dog not so much to blame. He only do what massa teach him." But I asked, "Are you not afraid that he will chase and worry the children?" "O no, sah!" was the reply, "he neber do dat. He neber do it when massa was here 'cept when de driver blow his horn to set him on." "He didn't come for a whistle, then, but at the sound of the horn?" "Yes, sah; dat is, when he ben wanted to cotch de runaway, den de horn tell him. He know bery well what dat mean; but he poor dumb brute," he continued, "did only what he ben teached."

In all my intercourse with these people I found a patient endurance of wrong, an absence of everything like a desire for vengeance, to be universal among those who make any profession of religion. They were glad, of course, at the prospect of being free; and they laughed, O how hilariously, as they talked of the stampede of their former masters and the terrible panic which gave the lie to their boasted bravery. I think it very possible that they would have shed no tears had they heard that their oppressors had been frightened to death by what they firmly believe to have been the work of the Almighty, performed by his agents, the armies from the North. But the idea of taking vengeance into their own hands, of shedding blood, seems never to have occurred to them. They would, beyond all question, treat Squire Pope himself, were he within their power, with quite as much tenderness as they do his dog. How Squire Pope would treat them, in a change of circumstances, may be left to the reader's imagination.

SLAVES HELPING THE REBELS.

A CORRESPONDENT of *The Tribune*, writing from Camp Scott, Va., April 21, says: "Some one said that the rebel fortifications between the James and York Rivers were so extensive that they must have been constructed by the rebel soldiers, and that consequently they could not have had the time for military exercise enjoyed by the Union army of the Potomac. I have found out differently. It was the sweat, and the muscle, and the blood of the black men that reared these breastworks. An aged negress informed me that 'hundreds on hundreds' of slaves had for months been goaded on like so many mules in this service. She said 'all de free col'd men' were pressed in, and compelled to give their time to the work. The free men were promised pay, but she said they never expected any. Her master, likewise, had gone, and 'missus' too."

A soldier in the camp before Yorktown writes thus to his friends in Boston:

"There has not been a slave seen here since we came, and upon inquiry I learn that the rebels took them all off to work upon the fortifications. I also learn that at one time the rebels had five thousand negroes working on the Yorktown fortifications. Since we came here four companies from our regiment have been employed building roads. The sight is a novel one, so many men with a musket in one hand, and a pick, shovel or axe in the other."

The correspondent of *The Herald* writing from Camp Scott, before Yorktown, April 27, says: "There are among the rebel sharpshooters a large number of negroes, who show a good deal of ability in the use of the rifle—in fact, our pickets declare that the best shot among them is a stalwart darkey, who climbs up inside the chimney of a recently burnt house, and, knocking out a brick for a porthole, sits perched inside watching his chance for a shot at our people. Our sharpshooters watch him very closely, so closely, in fact, that he has been unable to reach his den, and is this morning fastened in behind an apple tree, where he will probably be kept from doing any harm to-day."

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